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A BURMA PROVINCIAL MUSEUM.

BY L. F. TAYLOR, I.E.S.

Introduction.

Like a preacher I begin with a text. The text will be found in the printed volume containing the Budget Discussion which took place in the Burma Legislative Council in March 1923. Maung Ba Glay of Insein rising to deprecate a decrease in expenditure in the Scientific Department said :—

"In Burma we are lacking in fully equipped museums, from which people can gain very valuable information and education. In India there are commercial museums and archaeological museums, etc. Here in Burma we have practically none except a very small Forest Museum rarely visited by the public."

The Hon'ble Finance Member replying to this said :—

"Maung Ba Glay complained about the decrease in the provision for scientific departments. He thought it wrong that we should spend so little on museums. Here I entirely agree with him and I think that this Council will be well advised in pressing Government to fulfil at an early date the twenty year old promise to build a Provincial Museum to house what was formerly known as the Phayre Provincial Museum exhibits. The project has rather dropped out of sight but if Maung Ba Glay will bring forward a resolution to that effect I think that it will not be met with any opposition and the House, I am quite certain, will be ready to vote the money needed to construct the necessary Buildings."

The object of the present paper is to further this proposal of Maung Ba Glay by envisaging the Museum we want, by enlisting the widest support and seeing to it that the promise now made by the Hon'ble Finance Member shall not become a hoary antiquity like the promise made by Government twenty years ago.

What is a Museum?

The Oxford Concise Dictionary defines a museum as "a building used for the storing and exhibition of objects illustrating antiquities, natural history, art etc." This definition describes adequately the majority of the museums of the early part of the nineteenth century and not a few of the present day. You will notice (i) that stress is laid on the building rather than on its contents and (ii) that the objects are merely stored and exhibited. Most of us have visited such museums and have found little to distinguish them from jumble sales or curiosity shops on

a large scale. It was not until 1870 that the "new museum idea" so ably described and developed by Sir William Flower began to pervade the chief museums of the world. A modern museum is a series of collections, properly arranged, whose primary purpose is to impart education and whose secondary purpose is to provide recreation. To succeed in this, arrangement, classification, presentation and cataloguing must be most carefully studied. Attention must also be given to such problems as housing, preservation, lighting and ventilation. A museum is, in these days judged not so much by its contents as by the treatment of its contents. It must be organized for the public good and ought to be an "educational agency, in which by object lessons the most important truths of art, industry and sciences are capable of being pleasantly imparted to multitudes." (Dr. W. J. Holland, Director of the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg, U. S. A.)

Rangoon without a Museum.

In the course of a paper on "Ethnological and Linguistic Research in Burma and South-east Asia" which I had the honour to read at the Annual General Meeting of this Society in 1922 I had occasion to allude to the museums in the Philippine Islands, Java, Sarawak, Straits Settlements, Federated Malay States, Siam and French Indo-China. I might easily have included some notices of the museums at Colombo, Calcutta, Madras, Lahore and other parts of India. I would however have found it almost impossible to say anything at all about a museum at Rangoon. For more than twenty years we have been without a museum. This I consider to be a disgraceful state of affairs which scarcely does credit to the administration of the Province. No other civilized country in the world and no other province of India is in such a deplorable condition. The reason for the great growth and development of Museums in other parts of the world about the middle of the nineteenth century, at the time when the importance of popular education and the necessity of popularising knowledge came to be recognized is attributed to the fact that museums were found to be peculiarly adapted in certain respects for the promotion of the culture, not only of the educated classes, but also of the masses. Shall we in Burma, at a time when we claim to be making great strides in progress and education, be content to remain any longer without a proper and adequate Provincial Museum? If so, we don't deserve ever to have one. No Burman and Anglo-Indian can call himself educated who is not acquainted with the history and aspects of his country and its relations with the outer world, and no institution is better adapted for imparting such knowledge than a properly conducted museum.

The Phayre Museum.

Burma is not always been without a representative Museum. Most of us have heard of the old Phayre Museum which was dismantled some 20 years ago to make way for the General Hospital and which Government promised to re-build at a near date on another site. I have tried to trace the history of this Museum but have met with very little success.

Perhaps some of the older members present this evening will be in a position to describe to us the old museum and give us further information. The following descriptive extracts from the British Burma Administration Reports for 1872-73 and 1873-74 may be of interest; they are the earliest I can find.

(i) **PHAYRE MUSEUM.**—Situated in the gardens of the (Agri-Horticultural) Society is the Phayre Museum, which costs Government £10 a month for maintenance and improvement. The collection consists chiefly of local curiosities and contributions from neighbouring settlements. It is gradually increasing and is well arranged. The museum also possesses the nucleus of a fair library of scientific works, to which it is intended to add a collection of Pali and Burmese manuscripts. Some 3,000 to 4,000 persons, mostly Burmans and Chinese, visit the building every month, and are said to take a considerable interest in its contents. 1872-73.

(ii) **PHAYRE MUSEUM.**—Several contributions of local interest were made to the Phayre Museum during the year, and the collection of curiosities, &c., is now large. The museum appears to be much appreciated by all classes of the people, and the number of visitors per mensem exceeds 4,000. 1873-74.

The next references, made nearly twenty years later, are to be found in the Reports on the Administration of Burma for 1893-94 and subsequent years.

(iii) "in December 1893 a committee was appointed to advise on the subject in connection with a proposal which was made by the Rangoon Agri-Horticultural Society to convert the Phayre Museum, which is at present managed by the Society, into a Provincial Museum administered by Government. The committee's report has not yet been received." 1893-94.

(iv) in 1894-95, the project was still "under consideration."

(v) "The conversion of the Phayre Museum into a Provincial Museum is still in abeyance owing to the difficulty experienced in procuring the services of a competent Curator. It has, however, been proposed that, when a paid Archaeological Officer is appointed for the Province, he should also be appointed Curator of the Museum." 1895-96.

(vi) In 1896-97 "no further progress had been made."

(vii) "The project for the conversion of the Phayre Museum into a provincial institution has been in abeyance for some years

A BURMA PROVINCIAL MUSEUM.

pending the receipt from Dr. Fuhrer of a report on Burmese archaeology prepared from materials collected by him during his tour in Burma in 1894. It is now understood that the expected report will not be received. The questions of the creation of a provincial museum and of the revision of the archaeological programme will therefore be disposed of without the assistance which had been hoped for from Dr. Fuhrer's researches".

1897-98.

(viii) In 1898-99 the question was still "under consideration."

(ix) In 1899-1900 definite proposals had at length been formulated.

"Definite proposals have been made by the Committee appointed to consider the question of establishing a Provincial Museum. It is estimated that the cost of constructing the building on the model of the Lahore Museum will be about 5½ lakhs of rupees. A valuable piece of land situated between the Agri-Horticultural Society's Gardens and Godwin Road has been acquired by Government under the Land Acquisition Act of 1894, the amount of compensation paid being Rs. 1,14,443 12-0. To this amount will have to be added a further sum which will have to be given as compensation to the Trustees of the land granted to the Agri-Horticultural Society, for giving up to Government for the erection of the Museum the portion of the garden land stretching from the newly acquired land in Godwin road eastward to a point opposite Latter Street. The land at the disposal of the Committee for the erection of the Provincial Museum is thus bounded on the north by Commissioner's road, on the east by a projection of Latter street to Commissioner's road, on the south by the canal, and on the west by Godwin road. The building will face north, and the Phayre statue will be removed from its present position and placed in front of it. It has been suggested that a bridge should be thrown over the canal in continuation of Latter street, that the canal itself should be turned into an ornamented sheet of water, and that seats should be provided on its banks for the use of the public.

It has been proposed that the Bernard Free Library should be amalgamated with the Provincial Museum, and that the latter should consist of the following departments:—

- (a) Archaeology;
- (b) Art;
- (c) Economic products;
- (d) Natural history; and
- (e) Library.

The management of the Museum will be vested in a Committee, and each of the departments will be supervised by a member of that Committee. The Government Archaeologist will be placed in charge of the first department, and he will be appointed Curator of the Museum as well as Secretary to the Museum Committee.

(x) In 1904-05, "a site was selected at Rangoon for the New Provincial Museum".

One or two references may also be culled from the Reports of the Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of Burma.

(xi) Meantime, the Phayre Museum remains under the control of the Agri-Horticultural Society. Nor has the question of building a Provincial Museum taken any definite shape. Most probably, its foundations would be laid about three years hence; and the Archaeological Department might not then have any voice in its management and control.

1903-04.

(xii) The exhibits of the Phayre Museum were made over by the Agri-Horticultural Society to the Archaeological Department in October 1904. The question of appointing a Curator is under consideration.

1904-05.

(xiii) SEVERANCE OF CONNECTION WITH PHAYRE MUSEUM. In March last, the exhibits of the Phayre Museum were moved from York Road to the New Public Offices, and the Archaeological Department severed its connection with them.

1905-06.

That the Phayre Museum was regarded with friendly interest outside the Province is made clear by the last three extracts that I am able to give.* Dr. George Watt, Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India, made a tour of the Provincial Museums of India and Burma. The results were embodied in a "Memorandum on the organization of Indian Museums" which was published in 1900. He writes:—

(xiv) "The Rangoon Museum is centrally situated in the public park, but it is like most Burmese buildings constructed of wood with the boardings so open that dust permeates through every part of the building. I understand the defects of this building are fully appreciated by the Local Government, and that a new building of a more satisfactory nature may shortly be expected to replace the present one.

* For three more extracts, discovered since this paper was written, see Note 1 at end.

In 1912, at the Museum Conference held in Madras, Dr. Vogel, Officiating Director General of Archaeology in India, making remarks on Provincial Museums he had visited, said:—

(xv) "Burma may be left out of discussion as the Phayre Museum at Rangoon leads only a latent existence, the collections apparently having been stored away for want of a building."

At a later stage in the proceedings we read:

(xvi) *A statement with reference to the Phayre Museum, Rangoon, was made by Dr. Vogel. In connection with this statement the following resolution was passed unanimously:*

That the conference express the hope that a suitable building will be provided before long for the Phayre Museum collection, Rangoon, now housed in one of the rooms of the Secretariat, and that a suitable curator will be appointed at once to superintend it."

From these quotations a few facts emerge. The Museum in the early seventies belonged to the Agri-Horticultural Society and was situated in the Society's gardens on an area of ground within the western half of what now constitutes the present General Hospital Compound. This Museum Government agreed to take over, promising in return to administer it and provide suitable buildings on a neighbouring site acquired for the purpose. Nothing however was done, beyond transferring the exhibits to York Road, until 1904 or 1905 when another site was selected and the Government Archaeologist was appointed Curator. In 1906 even this arrangement came to an end and the specimens were consigned to dark corners of the Secretariat where they still remain. Since that date but little has been done by Government, as far as I have been able to discover, to redeem its promise made in Court twenty years ago to the Trustees of the Agri-Horticultural Society and the public of Burma.*

The Ideal Museum.

I have already referred to the out-of-date type of Museum that we don't want. We don't want a lumber shop, a mere collection of curiosities and stuffed animals preserved in glass cases. Such an exhibition is good enough for the idle curious who desire to kill time, but is of no use to anyone else. What we want is something dynamic and alive; something articulate; something that is organized on sound educational principles and that will act on us and increases our knowledge. It must be potent as an educational institution and it must stimulate development and industry.

A complete central museum would be an exhibition of the whole world and would cover the whole field of human knowledge. Geographical and Geological collections, assemblages of Flora and Fauna would represent the stage on which man fulfils his destiny, while collections of

* But see note 2 at the end of this paper.

art works, antiquities, industrial products and ethnographical specimens would illustrate man's life, history and occupations. Finally a fine art gallery and library would contain the finest creations of his emotions and intellect.

Ideal Provincial Museum.

In Burma, of course, we can attempt nothing so vast. We must fix a more limited scope. We must be content with something that will represent the province. Just as an ideal central Museum would be an exhibition of the world, so our museum must be an exhibition of the Province. Many of you are aware that in the days of the great Pagoda Builders it was a common practice, when erecting a large Pagoda, to set aside one brick out of every ten thousand for the erection of a replica or minature pagoda. Such a replica was constructed in exactly the same proportions as the principal edifice and was practically a pocket edition of it. In exactly the same way,

our Provincial Museum must be a replica or pocket edition of the Province.

It must provide at a glance a bird's-eye view of the Province, its resources, its history, its art, its industries and its commerce. It is needless to add that it must remain in active touch and effective cooperation with the life and activities of the Province. Like a living organism it must respond to, and react on, its environment.

I must now attempt to describe such a Burma Museum in more detail.

Location and Site.

In the first place the Museum must have a site, and that site must be not only dry but easily accessible. It is no use having a museum as an institution for the education of the public unless it is situated where the public can visit it easily. We must of course understand what we mean by the museum public. To the illiterate coolly the halls will be so many Ajaib-Khanahs or wonder-houses which he can visit free of charge and he will come to look round them for amusement in the same way that he visits the monstrosity booth in a circus. If the display is good, however, he will come out a wiser man than he entered. But it is the literate public, the humble clerk, the school boy, the more intelligent artisan or craftsman who will profit the most. So the museum should be placed in some dry situation where he can easily visit it on a Saturday afternoon or Sunday holiday. Personally I consider that a site near the Zoo and the Agri-Horticultural gardens would be suitable. The essential thing, however, is that

the site must be easily accessible as well as dry.

Moreover, if the Museum building is also to be pleasantly and worthily situated, with ample room to expand in future years, it follows that

the site should also be open and extensive.

Buildings.

One of the most extraordinary things about most museum buildings is their unsuitableness for the purpose for which they were constructed. The truth is that the biggest curiosity in a museum is, as often as not, the Museum building itself. The principal feature is frequently a spacious and lofty hall with archways, vaults and pillars and windows suggestive of a church. The collections are stored in galleries running round the four sides, in cases at the feet of the columns and pillars and in stands in vacant parts of the floor. Such a hall may be imposing but it is unsuitable for a museum, especially for an Indian Museum. In the first place it constitutes a wicked waste of space; it uses up a disproportionately large part of the funds so that the real exhibition galleries are perforce few and inadequate; architectural ornament interferes with the proper display of specimens; windows occupy space that ought to be devoted to wall cases, whilst the excess of light is terribly destructive to the specimens. Even at the South Kensington Museum in cloudy England the lower parts of the windows have had to be blocked to keep out some of the light. How much more will this hold true of India. I will quote once more from the Memorandum of Dr. George Watt. He says:—

"An Indian Museum building to be both useful and comfortable should for the most part be unattractive as a public building. It should consist of a series of long rooms with side skylights near the ceiling. If windows are found necessary they should be confined as much as possible to north exposures. The light should be uniformly distributed and be possible of being kept well under control. But there should be few, if any, windows in the walls, since all space is indispensably necessary for the collections. The walls themselves should be as thick as possible so as to keep down the temperature. To lower the temperature is not merely a matter of comfort for those who have to work in the Museum; it is a necessity for the safe custody of collections. A high temperature and too much light are exceedingly injurious to natural history and industrial art exhibits."

I think then we must accept it as an axiom that the building shall exist for the display of the collections and not the collections for the furnishing of the building. In other words.

the building must be planned in direct relation to the exhibits.

Of course there is no reason why the building should not be made beautiful and spacious, as well as useful, but architectural effect should be regarded as a secondary feature and not as the primary one. An imposing hall may also be built if funds are plentiful, but on no account should such a hall be built at the sacrifice of the exhibition galleries and the workshops, laboratories and offices necessary for the work of the museum.

Wall Cases and Fittings.

Before quitting the subject of buildings, something must be said on the subject of wallcases and fittings which ought to be regarded as integral parts of the structure. As Dr. Watts says "Certain attachments should have been provided for while the walls were under construction". It is because this is not generally done that one so often sees a collection arranged in a medley of cabinets set up against irregular wall spaces and closed up doorways or dispersed here and there along the central floor. This is not only a gross waste of space and a heavy expenditure in money, but it renders systematic arrangement of the specimens well nigh impossible. On this point Dr. Watts writes (in the year 1900) "A Museum in which the classification pursued does not impress itself even on the casual visitor loses very largely in value, and to the student is next to useless,.....with the exception of the Calcutta Museum, the collections in all the other Museums of India could, with proper fittings, be shown in half the space they at present occupy and with great advantage to the public". He also informs us that "no fittings can be more wasteful, impracticable and expensive in the long run than the odds and ends of cabinets and tables on feet".

What we need therefore are dust-proof and air-tight wall cases which cover every foot of wall space but which project at intervals to form bays or recesses. The passage should be in straight lines and the central cases should be so arranged with plenty of floor space around them that their contents can be examined from every side. Here again we may express ourselves axiomatically :—

the cases must exist for the exhibition of the specimens not the specimens for the filling of cases.

Classification of Exhibits.

We now approach a subject which appears easy to discuss but which, in reality, is of some difficulty. The best way to begin will be by studying some of the classifications of divisions actually adopted in or devised for different museums. Dr. Watts for instance recommends (i) Zoology and Botany; (ii) Geology and Mineralogy; (iii) Archaeology and Antiquities; and (iv) Economics and Art. The Indian Museum, Calcutta, recognized (i) Art; (ii) Archaeology; (iii) Geology; (iv) Zoology and Anthropology; and (v) Economic Products. The Madras Museum: (i) Zoology, (ii) Botany, (iii) Geology, (iv) Archaeology and (v) Economics. The Lahore Museum; (i) Industrial Arts; (ii) Fine Arts; (iii) Archaeology and Antiquities; and (iv) Coins. Finally the Museums Conference which was held in Calcutta in 1907 recommended: (i) Archaeology and Epigraphy, (ii) Coins and Medals, (iii) Art and Ethnology, (iv) Economic Products, (v) Geology, (vi) Plants, and (vii) Animals. These classifications appear to me to be faulty in one important respect. They are based rather on the main features of definite collections which have come somehow into existence than on any principles of

universal application. In other words they are particular or empirical rather than scientific. Their very diversity proves this. What we want is some guiding principle which will go right down to the root of the matter. We want to effect such a classification that our Museum will be a visible manifestation or image of all that we can know about the Province we live in and not merely a more or less haphazard assemblage of collections. Such a principle I have already enunciated when I stated that the Museum was to be a replica or pocket edition of the Province showing both the past and the present. Let us proceed to apply it. The classification that would be the most suitable for everything we know about the Province will be the most suitable and correct for our Museum.

We may commence by regarding Burma as consisting of (i) the Geographical Stage upon which man has come and (ii) the life and activities of man upon that Stage. We may now subdivide the stage into the floorboards and the scenery, in other words into the Geography and Geology on the one hand and the Flora and the Fauna on the other. Then comes the principal actor Man and we witness the drama of human life, aspiration and endeavour. The study of the varieties of man is termed Ethnography, the story of his life in the past is called History and is illustrated by the Archaeological remains. His activities of the present day may be divided into (a) Agriculture, Manufacturing Industries, Trade and Commerce, or those activities by which he obtains raw materials, turns them into prepared or manufactured products and disposes of them, and (b) Philosophy and Fine Art in which he attempts to express his aspirations and find voice for his soul without any hope of material reward. We may now consider how all these would be illustrated in our Museum.*

A Geographical section would comprise a large relief-map of the Province together with coloured maps and charts and diagrams representing elevation, rainfall and the many other factors that condition climate and the surface of the land. Typical exhibits of specimens from the dry and wet zones, from the mountains and from the plains, from land and water, from rock and from soil etc. would be placed side by side. Obviously such a section can be made of the greatest value from the educational point of view.

Geology would be represented by an extensive collection of rocks and minerals arranged in geological series and accompanied by maps showing the geographical distribution of the rocks and charts showing the order and lie of the strata.

Flora would be exhibited in a Botanical section of the Museum. Preserved specimens would be shown together with distribution maps. Should many fossil plants come to light, it would be possible to make small study collections showing the evolution of plants from the earliest times to the present day.

*See the diagram of the Classification of Exhibits given at the end of this paper.

Fauna would be exhibited in the Zoological section in the same way. And here I may say we will have none of those badly stuffed repulsive caricatures of mammals and birds, some shrunken and others resembling bags of old clothes, in attitudes impossible for the creatures to have assumed when alive, which in previous decades have been such a conspicuous feature of many museums. Our mammals shall stand on sand or earth or some other imitation of land surface in natural postures and natural surroundings, and our birds shall perch on boughs or plume themselves on the edges of a pool.

The Ethnographical collections, in the case of Burma, would be extensive and important. I think the best arrangement would be by tribes. A section of wall space would be allotted to every important tribe or group of tribes and as many typical specimens as possible illustrative of native life would be exhibited in these sections. Special study collections might also be formed illustrating the evolution of design and progress of invention.

In the case of Archaeology and Antiquities, there are already several local museums in existence. These we ought to leave untouched as they are each typical of the localities in which they are situated. They contain, no doubt, many unique specimens. But what we need in Rangoon is rather a general collection of antiquities illustrative of the growth of civilization in the land we call Burma. History as such would be represented by historical charts on the walls and by suitable books and manuscripts in the museum library.

Agriculture, or the cultivation of the soil, is the most important industry in Burma. It would be illustrated by maps, tables of rainfall and temperature, specimens of soil, samples of agricultural products in all stages and from different localities, specimens of the implements used and photographs showing the agriculturists engaged in all stages of their work. Pictorial charts would indicate the methods in which the surplus is disposed of and the different parts of the world to which it is supplied. In the same way a section would be devoted to Forest products and the uses to which timbers, canes and other raw materials can be put.

Other industries together with the technical processes involved would be shown in the same manner from the product in nature, its collection, its stages of treatment and manufacture to the finished article and its market in the world. Models of machinery would be included in the exhibits. This section of the museum would, needless to say, be properly correlated to the Geographical, Geological, Botanical, and Zoological sections.

Industrial Art or Artware specimens such as lacquer work, metal work and ivory and wood carving would also be exhibited, not only as works of art but to stimulate the craftsman who comes to study them. For this purpose extensive comparative collections, not limited to the

boundaries of the Province, are necessary, illustrating fully the merits of different styles of treatment and of the different varieties of materials employed. The visiting craftsman will then come away with ideas for improvement derived from the methods employed by his brother workers in other lands and with a wider knowledge of his craft. Fine Art might be shown in a small gallery devoted to that purpose whilst Philosophy would be found in the books and manuscripts in the Library.

Finally I may point out that a good science and reference library is an essential part of a modern museum and I suggest that the Bernard Free Library be added to the museum and that adequate room be provided for its accomodation and future expansion.

Museum Arrangement.

The arrangement and exhibition of the specimens is a very important part of museum work. The value of the museum depends more on this factor than upon any other since it is to be judged by the "treatment of its contents." A haphazard arrangement is worthless. Our collections must be specialized and articulate. There must be a reason for everything, or, as our great pioneer Sir William Flower put it "every specimen and exhibit must convey a purpose and teach a lesson". These lessons must all be related to the main purpose, which is to illustrate the world (in this place our world is Burma in relation to the rest of the world), man's place in the world and man's activities in mastering the world. The museum is to be an educational machine specially designed for a clearly defined and definite practical object. It must speak directly to the eye using objects instead of words. The recognized means of presenting specimens to perform this purpose are (i) arrangement (ii) labelling, and (iii) cataloguing. In the first place the specimens must be selected and limited strictly with regard to the purpose in view and the space available. They must be placed at a convenient height for ready examination. They must not be crowded one behind another. Every specimen should be good of its kind, well preserved and properly protected.

Labelling is another art that must be studied. The labels should convey in simple words the object lesson that the specimens are intended to convey. They should be strictly relevant, concise and easy to read and adapted to the intelligence of the ordinary educated visitor. A properly arranged museum has been defined as "a collection of instructive labels illustrated by well selected specimens."

The general catalogue should be something much more than a mere list of museum specimens. It must be the cement which unifies the whole assemblage into one compact structure. It must begin by setting out clearly the underlying purpose of the Museum and show how all the different sections are related. After that it can take each section in turn and summarize the lessons conveyed by the different collections. In this respect it will be an expansion and continuation of the labels, *i.e.* if the

labelling has been properly done, but it will go on to give a list of the specimens and exhibits for the benefit of those who are unable to visit the Museum. It thus becomes a guide book to the Museum and a Handbook to the Province.

More advanced and detailed guide books or catalogues might also be prepared for each of the main sections of the Museum. Some of these, for instance the one to the Geographical exhibits, would be very suitable as school text-books.

Museum Activities.

Besides the work of acquiring, arranging and displaying specimens, there are many other activities that ought to be undertaken. These consist of (i) Demonstrations and lectures illustrated by museum specimens, (ii) the issue of loan or presentation collections, (iii) the preparation of monographs, (iv) the maintenance of a Bureau of Information, and (v) the upkeep of the Library.

Demonstrations should range from the most elementary explanations, such as might well be given to parties of illiterate coolies, to properly organized lectures intended for college students and the more highly educated part of the community. This oral teaching is now a well recognized feature of modern museum work. Every up-to-date museum has a lecture hall with a screen and lantern. It is the duty of the Curator to organize fortnightly lectures of popular interest on subjects connected with the general purpose of the museum. As a rule such lectures are well attended and do a great deal of good. They give much fuller information than the museum labels can give and are much more diversified than the catalogue could possibly be. Lectures to college students and schoolboys would be a special feature. The best of these lectures would subsequently be printed in the Museum Journal.

Loan collections or presentation collections may be considered together. A loan collection is an assemblage of specimens brought together for some definite purpose, together with a suitable handbook, which is loaned to some other institution. For instance a good collection of Burmese and Shan lacquer ware might be assembled and loaned to the Arts and Crafts Exhibition for the improvement of the craftsmen who attend that Exhibition. By presentation collections I mean collections made up of duplicate specimens which might be made up to supply to schools. Every decent school ought to be possess a small museum, and the boys ought to take an active part in the collection of specimens. It will often happen, however the important materials cannot be acquired by the boys which the Provincial Museum will have special facilities for obtaining and providing. In such cases the Curator ought to make up small special collections properly labelled, together with descriptive handbooks, and supply them to all the important schools of the Province. The educational importance of good school museums cannot be exaggerated.

The preparation of monographs and the maintenance of the Bureau of Information and the upkeep of the Library may be considered together. The Museum besides containing collections of the various provincial industries ought to be able to provide the visitor with any up-to-date information on these subjects that he desires somewhat in the manner of the late Department of industries. It ought, in fact, to do something for the advancement of industry and trade. There would therefore be a Museum Library which besides books would take in Trade Journals and other papers which deal with the resources, products, manufactures, industries and trade of Burma. The books and papers would be indexed so that any seeker for special information will be able, without much trouble, to find it. As information on any one subject is systematized it can be extracted, and printed in the form of monographs or handbooks which will do much to educate the public on the conditions and industries of the Province in which they live.

Organization

It will be obvious from all I have said so far that a great deal will depend upon the qualifications of the Curator. He must not only be an organizer and an educational expert but he should possess expert knowledge in at least one or two of the sciences dealt with. More than this cannot be expected. On the other hand, for the proper running of the Museum it is necessary for every section to be under expert control. Sir William Flower once said "a museum depends for its success, not on its building, not on its cases, not on its exhibits but on its Curator", and again; "a competent paid Curator must be engaged if the museum is to be really useful and properly fulfil its purpose. This is imperative". Similarly the Madras Museums Conference held in 1912 passed a resolution "that the conference desires to express in the strongest possible manner its conviction that the different branches of provincial museums should be under expert management, and that no exhibition of specimens can have much educational value unless it is arranged and supervised by a man who has made a special study of the class of objects of which it consists".

How is this to be done without great expense? It can be done by appointing experts as Honorary Scientific Advisers. The Museum Committee would include, for instance, representatives of the Agricultural and Forest Departments and of the Geological Survey and of the Chambers of Commerce, thereby bringing the museum into relationship with the life and government of the Province. It would also include the Professors of the University Departments which correspond to the Museum Departments, thereby bringing it into relationship with the educational needs of the Province. These experts would advise on the control and arrangements of their respective Departments in the Museum. A Museum administered on these lines cannot stagnate.

The whole time Personnel ought to consist of (i) the Curator and Librarian (ii) Assistant to Curator and Sub-Librarian, (iii) photographic

draftsman (iv) office staff, (v) taxidermist and (vi) dustries and watchmen and gallery attendants.

The building must include Exhibition the Galleries and Library for the use of the public; a lecture room and class room for purposes of oral teaching; a commodious store room for the housing of duplicate specimens or specimens not placed in the galleries; a work room and laboratory for the preparation and preservation of specimens; a taxidermist's room; a photographic dark room and the necessary equipment of offices.

Advantages of Having a Museum.

The Educational advantages of having a Museum have already been sufficiently emphasized. Not only will it be a most valuable auxiliary to the education imported in schools and colleges, showing how the different departments of knowledge are linked together, but it will educate the public which has completed its school education as well as the cooly who has never been to school at all. It will educate the craftsman who inspects its contents and inspire him to better work. It will do more than this. It will give a bird's eye view of the Province and its resources and industries to the Members of our local Parliament when they assemble in Rangoon to regulate our destinies.

A good Museum will undoubtedly cost much to maintain, but other countries maintain them (thereby proving themselves more enlightened and advanced than ourselves) and appoint very capable men to manage them. The indirect financial return will more than compensate the expenditure involved. We recognize this when we hold our annual Arts and Crafts Exhibition and when we send Government exhibits home to Wembley Park. Why then should we hesitate to have a Museum which will be a permanent Institution in which specimens once acquired will be always on view? Seven years ago Sir Harcourt Butler said Burma wants boosting. A Museum, which every traveller coming to Rangoon will visit, is one of the best ways of doing it.

Steps ought to be taken at once. Not only have we been deprived of the advantages of a Museum for a score of years, but we have lost the natural increase in the number of specimens that would have been acquired in that time together with the education that the Institution would have imparted.

I will give some instances in point: (a) In the Archaeological Report for the year 1902-03 the following passage occurs:

"At Mandalay the Hlut-daw throne in the palace was dismantled and transhipped to the Calcutta Museum."

Comment appears unnecessary.

(b) On page 20 of Part I Vol. II and page 788 of Part II Vol. II of the "Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States" we read of the two Golden Heads of Popa. These were presented by King Bodaw.

Paya to the old nat shrine in honour of the Mahagiri nat Maung Tin De and his sister Shwe Myet-hna. They were of pure gold and weighed 55 tickals each.

At the time of the British occupation of Upper Burma they were removed and deposited first in the Pagan treasury and then in the Bernard Free Library, Rangoon. Where are they now? Either they are missing or they are stored away where nobody can see them. In either event a safe museum would have been the means of preserving them to the public.

(c) In the Report of the Superintendent of the Hill Tracts of Northern Arakan for 1871-72 the following passage occurs :

"A collection of the dresses, weapons and ornaments of the several Hill races of north Arakan has been collected, with a view, as requested by the Chief Commissioner, of being sent to the Calcutta Museum. This collection will go a long way towards showing that a people able to produce such serviceable, and indeed in the case of several of the cloths from home-spun cotton, such well worked and finished articles, are not so backward and uncivilized a race as they are popularly supposed to be."

Moral : If you want to study Burma go to Calcutta.

We may indeed hope that the Wembley exhibits will come back to a Burma Museum and will not be given to foreign Institutions.

Some Suggestions.

I have now placed before you a rough outline of the vision I see ahead. I have given some account of a Burma Provincial Museum as it ought to be. The thing to do now to start getting it. At first thought one might suppose that the way to set about it is to get the Government Architect to draft plans, work out estimates, get the plans sanctioned and money voted, erect the buildings and then appoint a curator and begin to collect specimens. Such a procedure would be altogether wrong. If there is one thing I have laboured to impress upon you it is that the building must exist for the exhibits and not the exhibits for the building. It will be impossible for any architect to work out ahead the relative and absolute scales of the different departments. A curator ought to be appointed now.* In one place I pointed out that a well-arranged edu-

* "First, as I have said before, you must have your curator. He must carefully consider the object of the Museum,..... He will then divide the subjects to be illustrated into groups and consider their relative proportions, according to which he will plan out the space. Large labels will next be prepared for the principal headings, as the chapters of a book, and smaller ones for the various sub-divisions. Certain propositions to be illustrated, either in the structure, classification, geographical distribution, geological position, habits, or evolution of the subjects dealt with, will be laid down and reduced to definite and concise language. Lastly will come the illustrative specimens, each of which as procured and prepared will fall into its appropriate place. As it is not always easy to obtain these at the time that they are wanted, gaps will often have to be left, but these, if properly utilised by drawings or labels, may be made nearly as useful as if occupied by the actual specimens." (Sir W. Flower in his Presidential Address to the British Association.)

tional museum has been defined as a collection of instructive labels illustrated by well selected specimens. The curator, then, ought to set about the preparation of these labels. First he must get the organization worked out in detail, then he must work out the arrangement and method of grouping and presenting specimens. Only then will exact data be available on which the Architect can produce his plans. Any other system is putting the cart before the horse, or, making the wearer to fit the clothes instead of cutting the cloth to fit the wearer. Concurrently with this work of planning out the future Museum the Curator would take over the exhibits left from the old Phayre Museum and would label and arrange them. He would do the same thing with the valuable collection of Government exhibits which are now on their way to Wembley Park, but which we trust, will return sometime to Rangoon to enrich our Provincial collections. Such preliminary work could be carried out quite satisfactorily in a warehouse if no other accommodation is available.

This method of instituting the Museum has many advantages. If we wait until the buildings are erected before setting a curator to work, it will mean that for a year or two after its opening the halls will either be empty or will be nothing better than a series of lumber rooms, and the provincial collections when made will be adapted to the building instead of to the purpose they ought to serve. On the other hand, if we appoint a curator at once, we shall have in time a thoroughly good collection of which the Province may be proud, housed in a building designed for its utility. Moreover the collections that have been getting arranged in the meantime will be ready for exhibition the moment the buildings are completed. Finally money is scarce. Let us have everything organized and planned in advance so that the moment funds are available the building may be commenced without further loss of time. If we don't do this, the old story will be repeated. When money is available a committee will be appointed. By time they have got out their estimates and plans, there will be more floods in the Delta or some other calamity and the whole scheme will be shelved again for lack of funds. The Finance Member has given his promise and it remains for the public to respond. In these days a Museum is regarded not only as a necessity to any well ordered and up-to-date scheme of educational progress, but as an urgent national need.

I think that we, as members of the Burma Research Society, should do our utmost to press for the early institution of a Provincial Museum which shall be perfect in its parts and honourable to the Province.

A BURMA PROVINCIAL MUSEUM.

A Scheme for the Classification of Exhibits.

		SECTIONS.		GALLERIES OF EXHIBITS.	
Stage and Setting	...	...	...	Land Structure	... Geography. Geology.
	...	...	...	Flora Fauna	... Botany. Zoology.
Man the Actor	...	...	...	Physical Anthropology Ethnology	... Ethnography.
	...	Past	...	Archaeology History Antiquities	... Archaeology.
BURMA		...	...	Art. Philosophy Literature Science	... Art.
Man's Activities	...	...	...	Raw materials Production Manufacture Trade	... Library.
	...	Present	...	Health and sanitation	... Industry, Commerce and Industrial art. Special educational exhibits.

This classification has been prepared with the object of designing a Museum which shall be an epitome of the Province of Burma. The exhibits however would not be confined to specimens obtained in Burma, but would include also specimens obtained from other countries for the purpose of facilitating useful comparisons. The gallery designed for special educational exhibits need not be subservient to this scheme. It may contain specimens, or series of specimens, bearing little relation to anything found in Burma, which would be exhibited for their educational value and because they are of general or special interest. The detailed application of the scheme given in this diagram is now being worked out and will appear in a continuation of this paper to be published in the Journal at a later date.

Note 1.

(i) Surgeon-General C. A. Gordon, who came to Burma in December 1874 as a member of the Staff of the Commander-in-chief of the Madras army, in his book entitled "Our Trip to Burma" describes a visit he paid to the Horticultural Gardens. He concludes :

Within the principal garden there is a museum, containing by no means an indifferent collection of objects, natural and artificial. Among others, there are specimens of hatchets and knives of the Stone period. They were found at different parts of the coast towards the Straits of Malacca; but are in all respects similar in appearance and character to those forming the extensive collections in the Museums of Brussels and Zurich. Implements of various kinds used by the more uncivilized races in and around Burmah, textile fabrics, specimens of wood timbers and fibres produced in the country, are collected and arranged, together with various other products of the country. The natural history collection is tolerably good, considering the circumstances of Rangoon; but the nature of the climate is sadly trying to the work of the taxidermist."

(ii) G. W. Bird in his "Wanderings in Burma" writes :—

The (Agri-Horticultural Society's) gardens are merely a depot for experimental horticulture, and to the general public are uninteresting. Within these gardens, however, the Phayre Museum and the Zoological Gardens are situated. In front of the museum stands the first bronze statue the city can boast of, that of Sir Arthur Phayre, who was appointed Chief Commissioner in 1862. The Museum is poorly stocked, and contains little of interest or importance. What few antiquities it does contain are badly catalogued, and of little help to the scientist or archaeologist.

(iii) Sir George Scott in his article on "Rangoon" in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1911) tells us that

"There is a garden round the Phayre Museum, managed by the Agri-Horticultural Society."

Evidently he has forgotten that the Museum was dismantled in 1904, or perhaps he thinks that the Agri-Horticultural Society look after the Secretariat Compound! It is a pity that the article on Rangoon in such an important "compendium of the most recent information" should be so many years out of date.

Note 2.

I am glad to learn that the statement that Government have done nothing for twenty years is not correct. The proposal to build a new museum has been before the Government of Burma on several occasions,

though nothing tangible has resulted therefrom. In 1922 however, Mr. J. MacKenna, I.C.S., C.I.E., Development Commissioner, proposed the constitution of a Committee to consider details with regard to the proposed Museum. The Committee met on the 31st May 1924 (shortly after the present paper was read) and passed the following tentative resolutions :—

- (a) That the Museum be called "The Phayre Museum".
- (b) That it be built on the old Agri-Horticultural site at Kandawgale and that the whole of this site be reserved for it in order that suitable grounds may be laid out round the building and in such a way as to show off the building to advantage.
- (c) That the Museum should comprise the following :—
 - (1) Bernard Free Library and Reading Room. This section also to house Kinwun Mingyi's Library and Hluttaw Records.
 - (2) A Scientific Library.
 - (3) Art Section.
 - (4) Agricultural Section.
 - (5) Archaeological Section.
 - (6) Ethnological Section.
 - (7) Natural History Section.
 - (8) Geological and Mineralogical Section.
 - (9) Forest Section.
 - (10) Commercial Section.
- (d) That the design of the Museum should be such that the building can easily be extended if necessary.
- (e) That Mr. J. MacKenna, Development Commissioner, who is going home on the 5th June should inquire into the organization and construction of Museums in the British Isles, get into touch with persons who are interested in museums and look at different types of museum buildings.

It is expected that the Museum Committee will meet again in November after Mr. MacKenna's return from leave.

SIDELIGHTS ON RANGOON IN THE SEVENTIES.

Two years ago Mr. J. W. Darwood of the Rangoon Tramway Company, while looking through an Edinburgh book-shop, purchased two slim volumes which bore on the back the title: "Our Chronicle, 1873" and "Our Chronicle, 1874." They proved to be monthly issues of Regimental Magazine of the 67th Hampshire Regiment, produced primarily for the benefit of the men, but containing some interesting information regarding Rangoon at the time. Each issue contained from 8 to 12 pages, and in addition to a leading article on the front page, the contents included a history of the Regiment since its formation by General Wolfe, the hero of Quebec; also articles about Burma, its history, its people, religion and customs, together with articles on sport and big game shooting in various parts of the world, and regimental news. There was also an acrostic or some other form of word-puzzle calculated to give the soldiers some occupation in their spare time.

Looked at from the standpoint of today, or even of the years preceding the Great War, "Our Chronicle" would appear to be somewhat heavy in character; but the letters to the Editor occasionally contained some humorous matter, and there was also a fairly regular article in the form of a letter from Lieutenant Harry Hardup to his friend Tom Goodfellow, Esquire, residing near Winchester in Hampshire. These letters from Lt. Hardup and one or two letters from his Winchester friend were distinctly in a lighter vein, although they contained reference to such matters as the abolition of "purchase", which was then being discussed by Lord Cardwell, Secretary of State for War.

It will be seen therefore that the Magazine, or newspaper as the Editor preferred to call it, was distinctly of a regimental character, such as has occasionally been issued by Regiments of the British Army in foreign stations. The price of each number was annas 2. It was apparently produced at a regimental press, and the arrangement was better than might have been expected for a Magazine produced under such circumstances. There were no illustrations beyond the Royal Arms on the front page. In the opening number which is dated Rangoon, January the 1st, 1873, the anonymous Editor states that his effort should be a boon to the 67th, although it is his first attempt at a newspaper, and he promises that a corner will be held sacred for those who wish to portray their thoughts and sentiments in verse, a promise which was faithfully kept, as every issue has a poem of greater or less merit. The interest of the books, when looked through from the standpoint of this Society, is the opportunity they afford of giving us some idea of what Rangoon was like in those days. We have to remember that barely 20 years had elapsed since the second Burmese War of 1852, and that the town was still very much in the making.

From an account of the voyage outwards it appears that H.M.S. "Malabar" left Portsmouth on October the 31st, 1872, with the 67th

Regiment and a detachment of artillery for Rangoon, also some casuals for Aden and Ceylon. At first bad weather made many sick, and it was not until the 6th of November that the Band played for the first time. Gibraltar was passed on the 9th, Malta on the 13th; when again bad weather was encountered, and Port Said was reached on the 18th. The Suez Canal was, of course, still a novelty, and the diarist gives an account of a mirage which they saw when passing through the Canal, and also the flamingoes and the pelicans, which are now very seldom seen in that neighbourhood. Aden was reached on the 27th of November and Colombo on December the 8th.

On the 13th December the "Malabar" anchored at Ross Island, Port Blair, and landed a Company to relieve the Company of the 10th Regiment, who were taken on to Rangoon. On December the 15th, the "Malabar" anchored abreast of Rangoon, and on the 17th the regiment disembarked and proceeded to the barracks. The "Malabar" which was commanded by Captain Sullivan was one of five ships quite recently built for trooping. Previously, reliefs for India travelled to Port Said by a troop ship and then went overland to the Red Sea to join another. This was the first time that one of these vessels had come to Burma, and it is recorded that the "Malabar" was the largest vessel that had ever anchored in Rangoon. She was 373 ft. long, with a tonnage of 4,173, and her speed was slightly over 9 knots; hence the fact that she took more than six weeks to come from Portsmouth to Rangoon. The vessel was thrown open to the public on the 27th and 28th and the *sampan wallahs* had a busy trade. It is recorded that the Chinese expressed very little surprise at what they saw, but that the Burmans could not conceal their astonishment and delight. They wanted to purchase everything they could, even the cabin stanchions. They fought to get near the Saloon mirrors and grinned with ill-concealed satisfaction at their reflections therein. The modern Burman as a rule does not adopt this attitude of wonder, but prefers to treat every new thing as something quite ordinary.

The Regiment must have settled down fairly quickly, for on the 20th of December the Band played for the first time in the Gardens—presumably the Cantonment Gardens—and it was announced that "the Band would play a Selection of Sacred Music in the Mess compound on Sunday next at 5 p.m.," so that Sunday music is not so new as the Rangoon people of the present generation think it to be. Christmas day was clouded by the fact that a soldier of the 10th Regiment was drowned that day in the Lake; but another of the same Unit was more fortunate. His body was found in a ditch between Rangoon and the Cantonments. A court of inquest was at once assembled, but a careful examination of the body disclosed that the man was not dead—merely beautifully drunk!

On the 27th of December, St. John's day in winter, a grand Masonic Ball was held at the Assembly Rooms, when there was a large

attendance, including, apparently, some members of the Regiment, and dancing was kept up till the small hours. The Regimental Recorder comments on the tasteful decoration, and states that the music supplied by the band of the 10th Regiment was all that could be desired. An evening party given by Mrs. Leishman on the 30th of December and the Ball given by Mrs. Lawford on the 6th of January are both recorded. Before the departure of the 10th Regiment, there was a farewell cricket match between the Cantonment who scored 196 and 88, and the departing Regiment who scored 170 and 92. Captain Evanson, whose name is recorded in one of the Rangoon streets scored 40 and 17 for the Cantonment and took 5 wickets.

The strength of the 67th Regiment on arrival in Rangoon was one Colonel, 2 Majors, 7 Captains, 1 Paymaster, 1 Lieutenant and Adjutant, 1 Quarter-master, a Surgeon-Major and an Assistant Surgeon, with 50 Sergeants and 817 rank and file,—5 Sergeants, 4 Corporals, 2 Drummers and 96 rank and file having been disembarked at Port Blair. The number of women and children is not given. It was not until many years afterwards that the system of having Regimental medical attendance was replaced by the formation of the Royal Army Military Corps.

As was almost inevitable, the first publication of 'Our Chronicle', produced within a fortnight of their arrival, contained some expressions of opinion by the new Regiment on the Rangoon climate, which, although far too generous in the matter of insect life, was pronounced in many ways to be greatly superior to other stations where the Regiment had been. There is a note of regret in the record of the death of 8 children during the voyage outwards of diphtheria and 4 others soon after arrival. The monotony of the long evenings, it was suggested, might be relieved by the formation of a Quadrille Band. The first number also contains a number of promotions in the Regiment, the establishment of which had been recently increased. There was also a very useful piece of Postal information for the benefit of those who wished to communicate with their friends at Home, and nearly a page of items of information and paragraphs of wit and humour, which were probably taken from other papers.

The second issue in February shows considerable improvement. The Regiment had met with a hearty welcome; but the objections to the insect pest were intensified, beetle sauce with the fish being a novelty which quickly palled, while the salmi of cockroaches was never popular. The big bungalows in which the Regiment was quartered are favourably commented upon—not so the pariah dogs which prowled and yelped and howled especially at night. A suggestion was made that Mr. Lowe, who was then projecting a tax on matches at Home, should come out to Burma to propose a tax on dogs. The local newspapers, although not mentioned by name, are cordially thanked for the courteous welcome which they had extended to the Chronicle.

It is with unfeigned pleasure we recollect instances of the excessive use of intoxicants that has been comparatively rare since our arrival.

The 10th Regiment embarked for home on the 7th of January, and immediately after there were several Brigade days involving parades and hard work. The Officer Commanding evidently thought that once Christmas had passed and the 10th Regiment had departed, it was time to get his men into working order again. The Regimental sports were held on the 27th, but there were few competitors, even for a pony race, as the ponies were quite new and not fit. The race between ponies belonging to the Shan village was however successful.

The Editor draws the attention of his readers to the cosmopolitan character of Rangoon as shown in the 1871 Census, the figures of which indicated that Rangoon was then predominantly Burmese, of whom there were 56,718; Hindus numbered 15,253, Mohamedans 9,608, Talaings 7,451 and Shans 1,217. There were also 325 Karens, 475 Arakanese, 31 Kathas, 53 Siamese and 3,181 Chinese. The figures of European and other races were somewhat surprising, for there were 1,094 English, 675 Irish, 15 Welsh, as against 162 Scotch. These proportions have long since been changed. There was a small number of French, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Austrian, German, American, Russian, Dutch, Belgian, Norwegian, Swede and Rumanian residents; 1324 Eurasians, 127 Malays, 114 Indo-Portuguese, 187 Armenians, 85 Jews, 2 Arabs and 8 Parsis. It will be seen that the Burmans far outnumbered all the other residents put together. There was one solitary New Zealander, and 3 Australian born were recorded.

Lt. Hardup's letter deals almost inevitably with the mosquitoes; also with the character of the Hindu servants. "The independence of a London footman is nothing to that of the Hindus" he says. The butler is also a professional thief, so is the sweeper and quite probably the syce, bhisty and the grass-cutter. The word "bungalow" he considers must have been derived from the thing it named being a low bungle, an apology for a home. It was described as bearing a remarkable resemblance to a pigeon cote. The work of doing up the Mess after the previous occupants had left was proceeded very slowly, so that he and his mess-mates could not be certain when they could return the extensive hospitality which had been shown to them since their arrival. The local gharries were intended for use, not beauty. The string-footed horses and the swearing drivers of which he speaks have not altogether disappeared in 51 years afterwards. The thick fogs in the morning were unpleasant to the new arrivals, but there was what was called the "sea-breeze" as the evening approached.

On February the 26th, the first theatrical performance was given, and henceforth practically every number contains an account of some theatrical performance, or a concert got up by the Regiment. Ladies' parts had to be taken by men who did their best under the circumstances but every body apparently enjoyed the regimental concert. The Sunday

performance of Sacred Music by the band continued until the rains, and it is recorded that the Band would play on alternate Fridays, in the Cantonment Gardens and alternate Tuesdays in the Agri-Horticultural Gardens. It is noted with regret that, with very few exceptions, the graves of those who fell in the 1st and 2nd Burmese Wars were in ruins and that the inscriptions were being obliterated. The mention of a fire on the 22nd February provokes the remark that the crowd gave little or no assistance beyond taking part with evident enjoyment in the chance of pulling down some houses which were endangered.

During the 2 or 3 months after the arrival the Editor had apparently got hold of a considerable amount of local gossip, and mentions for the information of his readers, the blood feuds which existed amongst the Hill Tribes in the north, including Khakyans, who, presumably, are the Kachins of the present day. As a result of a tour which Captain Strover made with the King's permission, the British Government was blamed as usual for the disappearance of one man. His brother at Bhamo claimed Rs. 12,000, 10 buffaloes, 10 bullocks, 10 gongs and 10 pieces of cloth as compensation. Captain Strover apparently offered Rs. 50 in full settlement, and eventually the deceased's brother accepted Rs. 200 and a gun. In another case a feud which had existed for 20 years was compromised for Rs. 25. Lt. Hardup's letter Home contains the first mention of hunting in Rangoon, which was one of the very popular amusements. He also describes in a cynical manner the appearance of the town, which he calls a humbug and the succession of palatial residences as seen from the river with the Pagoda as the background. Outside the main streets there were nothing but mat huts, sheds, bazaars and gharry-stables, while the balmy breezes of the East remind him of Cologne. He mentions the Chinese character which appears on the name-boards of certain streets, and the Burmese character which appears on every street as resembling a series of broken teapot handles. "Every thing we want", he says "can be had at the Stores at Rangoon Prices; and though bargaining is well understood more time is wasted on it than it is worth." The compounds of the houses where the Europeans reside in the suburbs are sometimes well laid out as gardens but are often described as "a howling wilderness". There was a Race-course which is also used as a drill ground and for games, such as cricket, polo etc. "Polo", he says, "is called hockey out here, but the game is the same as at Home." The ponies are small but compact and wonderful in strength, being able to carry even the heavy weights of certain rotund officers (not named), but the little devils are full of tricks. Several shooting parties had been out and the bag hitherto had only been one jungle fowl. "Burma" he decided "would not be such a bad place to live in if one can get six months' leave occasionally on full pay to go to Europe." Cane covers for table glasses are noted as a necessity.

Major-General Hamilton inspected the Regiment on the 5th, 6th and 7th of February at 6.30 a.m., on each day, the parade being called

at 5-50. As a counterstroke to this early rising may be put the Sergeants' quadrille dance and the evening picnics near the Lakes, when the party enjoyed dancing, singing, recitations and refreshments by the light of the moon. A warning note was struck that there was too much drinking in Shanghai in 1862 when the Regiment was quartered there, and that it would be well for the men to avoid too much indulgence in drink in Rangoon.

The April number mentions the getting up of a regatta which would be welcomed, and also gives an account of the second regimental sports on the 5th of March. "As for the ponies the least said the better. Only one pony passed the point." The hurdles were too high and too open. The report speaks of the early start of the sports and goes on to mention 4 p.m., when owing to clouds the weather was cool, but the day's proceeding ended in a pretty big scrap between Madrasis and Burmans, sticks being freely used. There was in fact extreme liveliness. (An expression with which we became familiar in the early days of the war as regards the happenings at the North Sea.) Eventually the white men interfered to stop the scrap. It is suggested that the Cantonment Gardens be lit on Band nights. The absence of a gymnasium for the exercise of the men was much commented on. A meeting was held at the Assembly Rooms on the 28th of March, of persons generally interested in racing, to organize a Rangoon Spring Meeting in the month of May, if enough ponies could be got to run. There was of course no Rangoon Turf Club in those days. The Stewards included the Chief Commissioner; the G. O. C.; Major Kingsley of the 67th; Major Harding; Capt. Evanson of the Madras Regiment; Mr. Leishman; Mr. Crookshank and Maung Ong, with Mr. Ashmore of the Chartered Bank as Treasurer. The Officers of the Royal Artillery gave a Reading on the 12th March in the Recreation Room, in which officers and men joined in singing solos: one of the latter was "Sally in our Alley", and Major Bedford, R. E., sang with great success the popular "Bangalee Babu".

The weather was evidently warming up, for Lt. Hardup's letter Home speaks of the thirst which everybody was experiencing, and as the water was readily pronounced bad they had to fall back on such substitutes as beer, weak brandy and water, tea and an occasional glass of sherry. No mention is made of the now popular whisky. "We jog along" he says, "with rides, racquets, boating and experiments in gardening." "In the afternoon we make an excursion round the shipping in the river, or take a leisurely stroll up and down Rangoon's Rotten Row, otherwise called the "Ladies Mile", being a straight road about that length delightfully shaded by trees on either side."

The Chief Commissioner gave an evening Party to the Italian war vessel "Vedette" which had arrived to look after the interests of the now large shipping trade with that country. There was a considerable attendance of native Royalty including a Queen and some Princesses,

who wore striped bodices of a dark material and on their heads enormous structures, some resembling the busby of Napolian's Guards, some the headgear of an Italian Priest. These and other ladies were laden with silver and gold ornaments, and seemed to be very delighted when anybody went up and took an interest in examining them. They were quite pleased to show them off. "Such distractions", Lt. Hardup says, "helped to keep our spirits up, but the heavy rents, high prices, high wages and petty thefts by servants create such a depression that all the subalterns hoped that there is truth in news that Lord Mayo had sanctioned a special allowance for soldiers serving in Burma." (It may be mentioned that this allowance has since been granted, but was not given to British Officers of regiments raised in Burma, a somewhat remarkable and an unjustifiable distinction.) As a precaution Rangoon had recently been placed out of bounds for the soldiers, but they have plenty of amusements: boating on the Lakes for the N. C. O's, their men and and their wives; fishing, cricket, quoits and frequent dancing at the Sergeants' Mess under which is a skittle alley. No mention is made of football. A rifle match fired between the officers of the 67th and 4 Italian Officers from the "Vedette" resulted in the victory of the British team. The Italian Officers, it is recorded, used the new Albert rifles and fired standing.

In May there is news of the Detachment at Port Blair which had given three theatrical performances for the enjoyment of all concerned. One of the pieces played was "We never miss the water till the well runs dry." The Rangoon Spring Meeting was to take place on the 12th, 14th and 16th of May and the Stewards, in addition to those already mentioned, included Mr. J. Q. Rowett. It is matter for regret that Mr. Rowett's brother Mr. W. Q. Rowett is not in Rangoon at present, for he came to Rangoon in 1873 and would probably have been able to add something from personal knowledge to the information contained in this paper. Colonel Jebb, Officer Commanding the 67th Regiment, paid a visit to Moulmein, a place which it is recorded has been decreasing in numbers owing to the increasing importance of Rangoon.

There appears to have been very few entries at the Races and there was nothing remarkable in the way of results.

In the June issue it was stated that the South West Monsoon swept over the place and the temperature became lower, but the mosquitoes are all devouring. The 20th of May is given as the usual date for the Monsoon to begin in Rangoon, but in 1872 it appears to have broken on the 1st of May and in 1873 on the 27th May. The customary parade took place on the 24th of May, and it is recorded that the *feu-de-joie* was fired at 6 a.m., but that the usual march past was dispensed with owing to great heat. It has to be remembered, of course, that in 1873 British soldiers still wore heavy woollen clothes and the red jacket even in the Tropics, which accounts for the march-past not taking place when the

parade was called at 6 a.m. By order the punkahs closed on 15th May, so it ought to have been cool.

Owing to weather conditions the Races had to be postponed from day to day, but finally the first day's meeting took place on the 23rd of May, the 2nd on the 26th, and the 3rd on the 29th. Owing to the lateness of the hour for starting (4 p.m.) there were only few events, but Mr. Adamson's mounts were hot favourites at the lotteries. (Mr. Adamson, afterwards well known as Col. C. H. E. Adamson, must not be confounded with Sir Harvey Adamson.) There were races for ladies' hacks with quite a good number of entries. A fourth day's racing was intended, but the downfall of rain so was heavy that the course speedily became converted into a swamp, only a few days after everybody had been exclaiming "Will the rains never come!"

On the night of the 11th and 12th of May a shock of earthquake was reported, and on the same day there was an eclipse of the moon at rising.

A new "htee" was placed on the Signal Pagoda on the 19th of May and there was a great gathering of Burmans who had special permission to visit the Lines of the 67th Regiment. It is stated that Municipal and Military Police were present but were not needed. (As there was no Municipality the use of the word "Municipal" in this connection must be a slip.)

At the Queen's Birthday Parade a soldier of the 14th Madras Infantry received the Order of British India for 48 years' service.

A murder is mentioned of a Burman in the jungle near Prome Road. He was supposed to have gone to steal some teak planks, but the gang of bad characters who frequented this spot, took him for a police spy and promptly shot him.

A boat race between the officers of the Royal Artillery and the 67th resulted in the defeat of the Infantry.

The July, August and September numbers contain accounts of the British Mission to King Mindon Min at Mandalay. The story of this Mission has frequently been published and there is no need to deal with it here, beyond the fact that Major Kingsley of the 67th was one of the members of the Mission, which was apparently given a cordial reception in contrast to the previous missions which had been subjected to petty troubles. It is remarked that "next to internal dissension nothing is more troublesome and dangerous than a weak neighbour." It is mentioned that the Burmese King's Mission to Europe had cost nearly 10 lakhs, and that alliances with France and Italy would mean nothing, as Italy was then spoken of as a second great power. It is interesting to recall the fact that at this time there was a scheme to link Calais with Calcutta by a railway line projected by M. De Lesseps, promoter of the Suez

Canal, and it was said that 7500 miles of rail had already been laid. There was only lacking a distance of 2,500 miles, and the line was to go through Khiva and Peshawar.

The July number gives evidence that Paperchasing was now in full swing, and that the finish next Saturday would be at the 67th Mess. There is a casual reference to the Panthay rebellion. The capture of Mömeni by a Chinese General with great slaughter resulted in the final crushing of the rebellion. Many refugees escaped to a neighbouring Shan State.

In the account of the Mission mention is made of the King's principal dancer of whose art, it is said: "the measure is very slow and not devoid of grace." The verdict of those who have visited the Burmese Section at Wembley would be more enthusiastic.

An account of the paperchases is written in a style which recalls Jorrocks' Journal of the present day, and includes many phrases obviously taken from Mr. Surtees' works. Fresh jumps were put up each week, it is said, and attempts to go over, under, through and round the said obstacles afforded good fun to both the performers and the lookers-on.

On rare occasions a "fox" is given a start and the Light Brigade tries to catch him or perish in the attempt.

The Masonic Hall in the Cantonments is the fixture unless otherwise advertised. There were 4 meets each month with the finish at the Lake Bath House. The courses are good, and at first difficulty was experienced by those not accustomed to controlling the actions of a Pegu pony. These standing only 12-1 or 12-2 will carry 12 or 13 stone, and they were a caution to look upon. My advice to persons about to marry in Burma would be: "Learn to ride or you will see very little of your Dulcinea on Paperchase days." The last jump of the chase is usually into the compound of some hospitable resident after which there were refreshments and we chat over the events of the chase until it is time to remount our Lilliputian ponies.

Speaking of the Race Ball, Lt. Hardup says that only a small number of ladies attended. "We have not much dancing in Rangoon", in which respect great changes have taken place in half a century.

The following poem by "Old Horse", who writes in the spirit of Jorrocks, was quoted from the Rangoon Times:—

"A Monsoony breeze, and a cloudy sky,
Proclaim it a hunting eve, Sir,
When Phoebus is sinking, away we fly,
The Mile called the Ladies we leave, Sir.
To horse, brave youths, and away,
Bright faces the fields are adorning,

We'll hunt then at eve when we may;
 And sleep when allowed in the morning.
 Hark! Hark! forrad!
 Tal-tallo-tal-tallo-tal-tallo!"

The course taken by the hunt is given, but its identification must be left to someone better informed than myself. It went by Major Steel's domain, the high barn, Club Lands, Kent's lands, through the turn-pike, Government woodlands, the Prison Chief's lands, Peemah wood, Stanford Hall, the College grounds, the Lunatic Asylum, through Heath's farm and Godwin Road, ending in the village of Ross at "Ross House". The weather was not propitious and the fencing was a difficult matter, but the popularity of the hunts was said to be on the increase.

At this time occurs the first mention of the regimental orders to move, their headquarters and a wing to go to Thayetmyo, and the other wing or detachment to Toungoo. The latter was considered to be the healthiest station in Burma and abounding in game, but it was a tedious journey by boats.

Lt. Hardup in his letter states that the move is a reality. Paperchasing was their only amusement and it was capital fun. The finish at our Mess was a great success and everybody was there. A "fox" was run to earth at the entrance to our Mess House, but many came upstairs to enjoy a claret cup!

A correspondent signing himself "Rangoon Ranger" who had been on a visit to Thayetmyo on business gave a very good account of that station, and also mentions a dance given by the Sergeants, which was the best at which he was present since he left Woolwich, "more than 40 of the fair sex being present, also a good sprinkling of civilians and some Captains of the ships now in Port. Every thing was well done *without waste*. People went there to dance, and if you had seen the way they kept the ball going you would have little faith in the idea that the Rangoon life takes all the energy out of us."

Some further information about the new "htee" for the Pagoda was given in the September number, the cost being mentioned at £62,000. The Pupa Wundauk came from Mandalay to be present and was received by the Chief Commissioner at the Secretariat. 50,000 people were said to have been present at the placing of the "htee".

Paperchasing closed on the 4th of October, and the fliers were undergoing training for the Races. Snipe was reported as coming in fast. The steamer "Ethiopia" is mentioned as having been wrecked near Bassein with the London mails of the 11th of August; but eventually many of the letters were recovered. A Race Meeting was fixed on the 28th and 30th October and the 1st and 3rd of November. Entries

from Moulmein, Akyah and other British Burma stations were anticipated; also ponies from Calcutta and Madras. The Bishop of Calcutta lectured on Buddhism during his visit to Rangoon in August.

In the November issue the death is mentioned of Captain Potter, who was to have been the new Editor of "Our Chronicle". After a year in Burma the opinion is that although there were no Arabian nights' luxuries, and the place could not be called a Paradise, it was not so bad as other places. One of the entertainments which was given about this time was so crowded that the General himself could not get in, although he had paid for the cost of the entertainment so that the married men and their wives and children could attend.

The Chinese giant "Chang" who visited Rangoon about this time had been seen in Shanghai in 1864 by many of the men in the Regiment. The Kioto Troupe of Japanese performers gave a performance in aid of the Rangoon General Dispensary. The projected Regatta came off, but bad weather which had been anticipated interfered with it. The band stand was decorated by a radiant and excited collection of the fair sex. The grace and elegance of the Burmese community was not so well represented as had been expected. The first cricket match was recorded as on the 15th of October. A rather sententious letter signed "C.W" compares the Sunday feeling of an English Cathedral town with the crowd and noise of a pagoda festival.

The December issue is largely one of farewells. The Sergeants had a farewell dance on the 10th of November, and the General gave an "At Home" which was attended by the majority of the Cantonment. The night was tolerably cool and dancing was kept up with great spirit before and after supper. Lt. Hardup's letter deals with the rains, the Paper-chases, and with the projected trip to Toungoo. Another correspondent mentions that there are to be 11 men in each boat to Toungoo instead of 6.

The details of the journey to Thayetmyo which was carried out by the Flotilla Steamer via Henzada, and to Toungoo which was carried out in country boats and occupied some 25 days, have already been published and have probably been read. Those who went to Toungoo in two batches had a very unpleasant journey, with several deaths on the way. The French Embassy to the King of Burma arrived in Rangoon on the 12th of December 1873 and stayed at Government house until the 20th. Its membership included 4 Counts. The Siamese Embassy to India visited Rangoon at the same time, and the Chief Commissioner gave a grand Ball in honour of both, and Mrs. Leishman and Mrs. Lawford gave parties.

Cricket was the principal amusement until the departure for Toungoo and Thayetmyo, both frontier stations of British Burma from 1852 to 1886.

The number of "Our Chronicle" for February 1874 is dated Thayetmyo and is printed as usual, so that apparently the regimental press had moved their headquarters to Toungoo. The mornings of the river station are much cooler than in Rangoon. All the horses and ponies caught cold whilst coming up the river. As is not unusual, the fact that the Regiment had left Rangoon does not deprive us of all news, but rather tends to increase the supply, for the letter sent by the Rangoon correspondent to "Our Chronicle" was full of interest in local affairs. He speaks of the capital as being decidedly dull after Christmas. Badminton was the principal amusement with which those left behind could console themselves; and he speaks of parties being given at Stanford Hall and by Mrs. Leishman and Dr. Bell, at which Badminton was the principal amusement. The enthusiasts appear to have played badminton in the cool of the morning as well as in the afternoon. Our critic also speaks of the arrival of a number of Shan ponies which came in large batches, having been bought for Madras at a high figure; so that apparently the Rangoon people could not afford them.

The stay at the Frontier was intended to be 2 years from the time of arrival. Badminton appears to have been adopted at Thayetmyo as well as in Rangoon, and they made an effort to continue paperchasing. A picnic breakfast on the rifle range was apparently well attended. The barracks were better than at Rangoon, but the married quarters were not so good. A L-Corporal writing, says that the Guard Room is a very much pleasanter place to be in than the married quarters, and that if they can be their own masters they would be glad to remain always in the Guard Room.

The March number contains an account from Toungoo of the visit of a Karen Chief who was greatly impressed by an inspection of the troops in review order. He wore an exceptionally large straw hat. He is reported as being a very superior Hill Chief who regarded the Mandalay Government as a mistake, and was glad that he had accepted British friendship. He was particularly impressed with seeing an 8 inch shell fired.

The April number contains a serious complaint of post office carelessness in not properly readdressing the letters from England to Thayetmyo or Toungoo as the case might be. The Deputy Commissioner, Thayetmyo (Mr. Spencer-Smith) gave a very pleasant party to the ladies of the regiment in the station at the Circuit House. Fortunately the night was unusually cool. The Rangoon letter again dwells on the popularity of badminton, but says that "we have very little energy to play it." Some fires had taken place and the troops took out their Engines and did good work. All the pariah dogs are to be shot. He mentions for the first time that "a pack of harriers which are to give us sport had been ordered from England, but there is yet no news of them. The money has gone Home and we expect them in May. The Assembly Ball was poorly attended." Arrangements were made for the usual Monsoon Race Meeting. There

is also mention of a meeting held to appoint a Committee to build a Racquet-court; but the money for this desirable object was not forthcoming in sufficient quantity, and the correspondent was half afraid that it would fall through for want of a few rupees. A meeting was held in support of the Famine Fund in India. All classes were represented, including the merchants, "but" says the correspondent, "people with fixed incomes having to pay increased income-tax through their nose were not very anxious to contribute. The Indian Government had not been liberal to those who were now called upon to contribute to it, and it is impossible to look lightly on the Government's obligation to do what the public is expected to do. Batches of coolies keep arriving from Bengal—presumably as a result of bad conditions in their country, but as yet wages for ordinary labour are higher than before, and I am afraid that the Rangoon cooly will always get eight annas a day for pretending to work. The weather is very hot, the roads are dusty and the supply of water scarce. The nights are cool." One of the few interests for the soldiers was gardening and "Our Chronicle" contains some practical advice on planting of various vegetables. The charge for a Burmese munshi is mentioned at 8 annas an hour.

The May issue contains the news of the visit by Colonel Jebb and another officer to the Arakan Hills in search of a suitable site for a Sanitorium. It is mentioned that a reply to a letter sent from Thayetmyo addressed to Toungoo did not arrive till six weeks had elapsed.

The Rangoon correspondent says that the Assembly Ball on Easter Tuesday was very well attended and dancing was kept up till the small hours, a contrast to a previous one which was a fiasco, the powers that be having pronounced it too hot for dancing. The same authorities had prophesied a similar fate for the Easter Tuesday dance, but their prophecy had failed, and some had actually condescended to come and dance.

The building of the Racquet-court was reported as having been actually begun at the south-west corner of the Assembly Room compound, near to the Race-course, so that in future days it can be utilized as a Race-stand, if needed. There was no news of the pack of harriers. Coolies continue to arrive but are still unwilling to work. Scarcity of small change in the bazaar is reported, and one anna in the rupee was charged for changing. "We shall soon be able to claim that extra allowance now granted to highly paid officers." Badminton is still the principal means of exercise, and the correspondent speaks of having received "a beautifully executed invitation card to play tomorrow morning at 5 a. m." He records a strong feeling against the Races in May, but says the long suffering subscribers will no doubt subscribe as usual and the wretched "tats" are now being galloped.

A letter from Mr. Tom Goodfellow in Winchester to Lt. Hardup of the 67th reports Toungoo as a fine station. The Rangoon letter in the

June issue mentions the wedding of Mr. Cunningham and Miss Cordington from Stanford Hall. The hounds are said to be expected daily and are to be fox hounds not harriers. "Most of the subscribers thought they would never come, and are now worried to find that they will have to be prepared to follow them."

A concert was given for the cost of a new harmonium in the Church. The correspondent speaks of a "split" in the choir and expresses the opinion that the last stage of that choir will be worse than the first.

In July we hear of a Paperchase in Thayetmyo which was a very jolly function, several ladies being present. Diphtheria is mentioned as prevailing amongst the children.

The Rangoon letter says that $14\frac{1}{2}$ couples of hounds arrived by the "Tenasserim"—rather that $14\frac{1}{2}$ couples were put on board the vessel in England, for only 12 couples were safely disembarked, and some others died soon after arrival. There were no kennels available for their reception, but the Recorder, Mr. Lawford, appears to have taken them in, Major Robertson being in charge. Owing to the arrival of the hounds hunting was now a reality. A meeting was called for the 2nd of July and the first meet was to take place on the 5th. One puppy whilst out for exercise near the Cantonment Church during service tried to prove worthy of his race by joining the choir, but its career was cut short.

The Ball given by Mr. Ashley Eden, Chief Commissioner on the 26th of May, the Queen's Birthday Celebration, was very pleasant and well attended. It is mentioned that cards were sent to some people who had quitted the world without leaving P.P.C cards at Government House. A concert by the Church choir at the Assembly Rooms was got up by Mrs. Drapes but was badly marred by what was intended to be a jocular sermon from the new Chaplain which failed to interest the audience, and a repetition would be extremely unlikely.

The sanction of the Secretary of State to utilize the Famine Fund for the construction of the new railway had been received, and 3 miles was to be put in hand at once, so that the subscribers could see something for their money. Rangoon was reported to be swarming with embryo Commissioners who came to display their efficiency in Burmese. Badminton was played whenever there was a gleam of sunshine, for there was rain everyday but not all day. The Rangoon letter of August reported the commencement of the railway, the earthworks having been reported to be well under way before half the people who had subscribed knew that the railway had been more than talked about. "On Monday," the correspondent says, "I saw 200 coolies turn out, and at the end of an hour they had nearly scratched up a cart-load of mud." He departed, wondering what a 12 months' activities would result in. "The railway starts at Sule Pagoda Road, just under the house known as the "Folly," not a very auspicious name to begin with."

Mention was also made of the loss at sea on her homeward voyage of the "Tenassserim" which had brought out the hounds. The crew and the passengers were saved, but all the racing cups belonging to Mr. Keith which he had sent Home went to the bottom of the sea. It is cynically recorded that just before the news of the wreck had been received the church choir sang the hymn "For those in Peril on the Sea" very badly, which may have caused the disaster.

The work of building the racquet-court is reported to be at a standstill, although little was needed to complete it. A musical society (probably not the first of its race and certainly not the last) was to be inaugurated by a Monster Meeting in a few days, and "yards of rules and regulations are to be passed." "There is always a desire in Rangoon" he says "to legislate freely for amusements, but I fear that as soon as the rules are carried very few people ever retain interest in the object, and the affair is generally allowed to die a decent death. I hope this will not be the case in the present instance as there is plenty of room for a little music in Rangoon."

The incessant popping of guns in Cantonment indicates slaughter of egrets. Everyone seems to have plumes and yet the egrets are more numerous than ever. The hounds met twice a week and there were long accounts in the local papers. The importation of hounds had been a success, although no better sport than drag hunting can be enjoyed. Dense forms move through the jungle, but there is little galloping in the Cantonments. There is a project to get some jackals so as to give better sport than the drag.

The Play "Society" is shortly to be staged and the cynical correspondent remarks that the moral of the play may do our Rangoon society some good, if anything can improve them.

Cricket and the Regimental sports are referred to from up-country. A letter from Mr. Goodfellow says he hears that Burma possesses names which were no better than the "Kills" and "ballies" of Ireland. The vague and indistinct idea the English people have of the country and its whereabouts is very remarkable. They imagine it to be a vey *Ultima Thule*, and consequently they do not trouble their head about it to any extent.

The playing of sacred music in the Mess compound on Sundays was continued in Thayetmyo as in Rangoon. The Rangoon correspondent's letter mentions a very successful visit of Miss Carrie George's Company; also of a performance of "The Colliers Bands" by the Amateur Dramatic Society, mainly consisting of the professionals; "of the amateurs the least said the better." Apart from the theatricals there were said to have been some Fancy Dress Balls.

The progress of the railway continued very slowly. "Little has been done beyond cutting gaps which draw down our horses; and

felling timber. An engine and plant are on their way and serious work will begin at once." He contemplates what it would be like to sit on a lively Pegu pony as the train approaches.

The Musical Society is reported to be flourishing. An auction of a departing resident's flowers, including roses and violets, leads our correspondent to remark that "the roses were sold at prices which would enable finer specimens to be exported." "The hounds were out regularly. The 9 couples kept well ahead of the horses. The pace was too good for the small ponies with heavy weights, and there are jumps every hundred yards of the 4 miles. Skye races are being proposed."

Tom Goodfellow's letter says that all officers on leave were very loud in their complaints about Burma. This item again occurs in the October issue. The Rangoon correspondent speaks of the climate being a regular "Turkish Bath," thanks to the break in the rains. The General's Ball, given at the Assembly Rooms which was most superbly decorated, was on the most "Turkish Bathish" night of all nights. "The Ball was a very melting spectacle—even the candles running down."

A Tornado on the 25th September did much damage taking off roofs and tiles of houses. It was accompanied by a Infant Welfare Society.

H.M.S. "Briton" is reported to have been in the river with an extremely thirsty company.

"The hunts continue and the importation of hounds was a decided success. More are to be got. A stag was obtained from somewhere and was released for a hunt, but the job was bungled as the hounds chopped the stag without any run whatever." "The sensational articles which appeared in the local papers on the subject were" he says "very exaggerated." "Work on the railway is now visible in several places where earth has been dug out and the roads torn up: it was very dangerous at night." "The Musical Society is going strong; also badminton, both afternoon and morning, and many new courts have been made. Thanks to the receipt of sufficient funds the racquet-court has been roofed at last."

The November issue contains a statement by the Rangoon correspondent that after the break of the rains, 9" of rain had fallen in 9 days. Hunting had stopped except for an occasional morning run as the supply of asoefoetida was running short. Still, with badminton, cricket, an occasional Ball and the Musical Society, there was apparently no lack of amusements. The Musical Society gave two concerts which were an emphatic success although the houses were not full. The outer world did not appreciate the appeal of "Madame Angot". The row in the church choir continued. The correspondent expresses regret at the difference between various sections of the flock.

The establishment of a Municipality is mentioned as a wonderful enterprise for Rangoon. All the old controversies will be repeated and

the correspondent foresees that the result of the new body will recall to mind the "Chronicles of Budgepore". One critic says: "What is the use of putting natives on it?. They will say 'Johukum' to anything proposed by anybody else." Another remark was: "Why do they put me on the Baby-washing Committee? Because I know nothing about it." This would suggest that the Infant and "Baby Week" of 1924 had some kind of predecessor 50 years ago. The critic who objected to being put on the Baby-washing Committee was himself a married man. The correspondent says that they were dealing out enormous salaries to a very large staff of officers, and where was the money coming from to pay them?

No. 24 of December 1874 contains a Rangoon letter. It says that the Races were never better. Cricket was proceeding in full swing, and the racquet-court is nearly completed and will be ready for play before the Committee have taken steps to supply the necessary materials. The Chief Commissioner's Party on the 22nd November was remarkable for a display of what the correspondent calls "jewels of tall hats." The men fearfully arrayed themselves to do honour for the occasion. There were visible some of the latest things from Europe and also some prehistoric garments, and the correspondent was particularly edified by witnessing a stately game of badminton, in which the costumes of the different players happily mingled. There was a pleasant little dance after the Garden Party. A Ball was to be given by Mrs. Ford in a few days.

Thus ends the 24th number of "Our Chronicle", and unfortunately no further issues are available for comment, but the Regiment was to stay at least another year in Burma. One of the early numbers contained a suggestion from a correspondent that the band should be increased by strings and saxophones, possibly the writer of the letter may have been one of those on service in Ashanti and wished to give some semblance of African music to the performances, or it may be that the saxophones of 1873 were different from those instruments which are now such an essential feature of a Jazz Band.

It may be thought that too much has been made of the very slender material afforded by the Regimental Chronicle of the 67th, but it has to be remembered that no other contemporary records are available. Newspapers of that era do not exist, and consequently we are depended on such casual information as can be got from an unexpected find like that of Mr. Darwood's, to whose courtesy we owe the opportunity of placing this information before the Research Society.

There was no mention of football or golf, and lawn tennis had not yet been introduced in England. The only mention of a Club is in the description of the Paperchase course, as going through the Club lands. There were of course no ice, no electric lights or fans: no railway, and very few amenities such as we now enjoy. Complaint of high prices

and high wages for inefficient service continues till the present day. Having been written purely for the information and entertainment, and occasionally the instruction, of the Officers and men of the Regiment "Our Chronicle" did not lay itself out to compete with the local newspapers. At the same time the contents are comments by those who were certainly not writing with an eye on posterity, a fact which makes such information as we may obtain from it all the more valuable.

There would appear to have been rather an unusually high mortality in the Regiment for a few months after its arrival in Rangoon, but the figures happily diminished.

Those with an eye for scandal will be amused to learn that the issue of July 1873 contains the announcement of a marriage on the 7th of June of a Corporal of the Regiment, and the birth to the bride and bridegroom on the 12th of June of a son, whose coming cannot have been wholly unexpected.

The accounts which are given of shooting in the jungle by officers who went on short leave all speak well of the treatment which they received from the villagers, although in many cases the children were somewhat frightened at the appearance of the strangers.

J. J. NOLAN.

THE NEW HTEE FOR THE SHWE DAGON PAGODA.

No. 15C. dated Calcutta, 15th December 1871.

FROM CRAWFORD B. COOKE, Esq.,

*Offg. Asst. Secy. to the Chief Commissioner,
British Burma.*

To C. U. AITCHISON, Esq.,

Secy. to the Govt. of India, Foreign Department.

The ceremonies connected with the elevation of the Htee sent down by the King of Burma to its position on the Shwe Dagon Pagoda having been entirely completed on the afternoon of 26th November, and the officers of the King having returned to Mandalay; the Chief Commissioner requested Major Duncan, Inspector-General of Police, who had been in constant communication with the Chief Commissioner throughout on this subject, and to whom, indeed, the arrangements of all the details connected with the conduct of this affair and the maintenance of order were entrusted, to draw up a full narrative of the event which, as the Government of India are well aware, was one of far greater political importance than would be supposed by those not acquainted with the entire circumstances connected with the matter. The Chief Commissioner's views on the political bearing of this incident have been freely communicated to the Government of India, and have received the concurrence of His Excellency in Council.

2. It is much regretted that permission was ever given to the King to erect a Htee on any Pagoda in British territory. The permission was no doubt the result of an oversight and of a desire not to thwart the King's wishes in regard to a matter which under a misapprehension was supposed only to have a religious bearing. The mistake was speedily discovered, but too late to enable our Government to prohibit the completion of the work. The placing of this Htee on the Pagoda has now been hanging over the province for nearly a year, and has had a most mischievous effect on the public mind, keeping up a constant state of excitement and apprehension among the people.

3. Under these circumstances, Mr. Eden desired to get the matter completed and out of mind; this has now been fortunately done without any mischievous results. The Htee has been erected, not by the King, but by our own subjects, and though, as stated before, it would, in the Chief Commissioner's opinion, have been much better if the excitement regarding the Htee had never been raised, it has resulted in bringing

about a very satisfactory state of feeling among the people, and confidence has been fully re-established. People from all parts of the country have flocked into Rangoon, and have returned to permeate through the country much impressed with the order and quiet which was enforced, and having no doubt a much higher opinion of our power and of our friendly relations with the King than they had before.

4. Major Duncan's memorandum will, the Chief Commissioner is sure, be read by His Excellency with great interest, and it only remains for him to say, and he has great pleasure in saying it, that the chief credit for bringing about this happy solution of what at first appeared an annoying and troublesome complication is due to Major Duncan, assisted by Mr. Edwards, formerly Collector of Customs at Rangoon. Practically, the whole management of the affair was placed in their hands, and in addition to the arrangements immediately connected with the Htee, Major Duncan personally superintended the disposition and control of the Police. The town was never more quiet as regards crime than during this great influx of people, though a very different state of things was anticipated by Europeans and natives. All classes were much struck by the excellent manner in which the police performed their duties. Mr. Edwards is an old officer of Government now retired on a pension: his services were perfectly voluntary, and from the great esteem in which he is held by the people, both of British Burma and Upper Burma, he was able to render very valuable services in softening down little asperities and difficulties which unavoidably occurred in arranging the details of a ceremony in which so many desired to take a leading part.

5. Major-General Blake co-operated very cordially in placing extra guards in the town and on the Pagoda, and in making such a disposition of the troops as to render them always available at a moment's notice in the event of any emergency.

6. The admirable conduct of the Police was the subject of general remark, and received special notice from the Chief Commissioner in a letter addressed to the Inspector-General of Police on the closing of the ceremony.

Memorandum on the erection of the Htee on the Shwe Dagon Pagoda by Major Duncan. Inspector-General of Police, British Burma

It may be interesting to Government to know the various circumstances attending the ceremony of placing the new Htee on the great Shwe Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon. First, it may be well to explain that the word Htee signifies in Burmese "Umbrella", and that on the pinnacle of almost every Buddhist Pagoda in Burma there is an ornamental structure which not a little presents the appearance of the frame-work of an open umbrella. This construction is usually of iron, and pendant from its lower edge are suspended numerous small bells, which, having a broad leaf of metal attached to the tongue of each, keep up a continuous and gentle tinkling as the wind blows the leaf to and fro.

The frame-work of the Htee being usually iron, it is further ornamented and enriched by the addition of gold bands, or even the whole structure is occasionally plated with that metal embedded. On these plates are added precious stones to a greater or lesser extent, and the pendant bells are of metal more or less costly, sometimes of gold itself.

The constant exposure to all weathers of this portion of the Pagoda renders its repairs more frequent than other parts of the structure.

It is frequently the case, therefore, that some wealthy individual, or the people of a village or town determine to renovate or enrich the Htee, or to replace it by an entirely new one. At such times much religious feeling is evoked; all try to share in the merit which results from so pious an action; and large sums and much labour are expended in the execution of the work. It has not unfrequently occurred since our occupation of Pegu that the excitement consequent on this religious ovation has required close watching. It is at such times that individuals, either designedly or from some fancied call, get into a professedly inspired state, while miraculous events are foretold, and looked for with much blind infatuation. To such an extent has this gone, that Government has in some instances interfered to stop the progress of religious fanaticism, and forbidden the elevation of the Htee.

The Great Dagon Pagoda in Rangoon is certainly the most important of all the temples in Burmese. It has a mythical existence of great antiquity, but even in historical times it has been noted for its sanctity. Within comparatively recent times, before we acquired Pegu, it had obtained a political value from the fact of the Burmans conquering the delta of the Irrawaddy, which has been a Talain Kingdom.

The political capital of this empire was the town of Pegu, which was only taken after a severe fight, and there is in Pegu a pagoda of great Buddhist repute. The Burmese conquerors determined to lower the prestige of the traditional capital; they adopted every possible measure to raise the importance of Rangoon; and in order to appeal to the religious feelings of the people, they devoted much care in embellishing and enlarging the Rangoon Pagoda as a counterpoise to the hereditary Talain claims of the temple at Pegu.

King Alumpra, the founder of the present Burman Dynasty, was the monarch who, a little more than a century ago, conquered the Talains. He it was who changed the name of the town then called Dagsug into Rangoon, a word meaning "the Victory is complete."

During the reign of his second son, Tsinbyoo Men, the Talains rebelled, but the revolt being suppressed, the King, as a mark of his sovereignty placed (in 1774) a new Htee on the Great Dagon Pagoda, and to complete the political significance of the ceremony, he caused the captive Talain King of Pegu to be beheaded, thus destroying the last representative of Talain power and royalty. In 1841 King Tharra-

waddy visited Rangoon. The Burmese Government were on bad terms with the English, and war was imminent. Indeed, on his side, the preparations were considerably advanced, and certainly his aggressive intentions were open and apparent to all his subjects. He too marked his royal stay in Rangoon by adding to and decorating the Htee on the Dagon Pagoda.

But still the actual framework of the Htee which has surmounted the Pagoda since our occupation of Rangoon, is the very structure put up in 1774 by Tsinbyoo Men, and marks the extinction of the Talain dynasty, while the subsequent renovation in 1841 is associated with the near outbreak of war between the Burmese and English.

Thus it comes to pass that both Burmese and Talains look with unusual interest to the (so to speak) political career of the Pagoda and its Htee.

When the gilding of the upper portion of the main structure of the Pagoda was decided on in 1869, the idea was formed that it would be a good opportunity of renovating the Htee, and a communication was received from the King of Burma's Prime Minister, asking that the people of Rangoon might be allowed to take down the ornaments of the Htee, and send them to Mandalay to be renovated by the king.

It was announced to be ready for despatch in February and March of this year, and there can be no doubt its advent was looked for with much anxiety by the better disposed of our subjects, who saw with much concern the prospect of a foreign ruler undertaking a duty which carried with it the rights of sovereignty.

There were at the time rumours of a disagreement between the British and Burmese Governments. The arrival of an Italian corvette, and the mission of her Commander to Mandalay, led to the idea that the king was seeking a foreign alliance, and the presence of a British gunboat was accepted as evidence that we were preparing for active measures. There was an old Burmese saying which associated contests and troubles with the elevation of a new Htee, and the collateral events seemed to point to the truth of the prophecy.

The local officers described the alarm throughout the Pegu Division to have been marked and unmistakeable, and an outburst of violent crime corroborated, in a specially Burman fashion, the uncertainty and excitability of the people. Circumstances occurred, however, to delay the despatch of the Htee, and it was not sent down, as intended, in the beginning of the year.

In this stage the officiating Chief Commissioner found the question on his arrival in Burma in April, and, after the fullest enquiry into every point bearing on the issue, it appeared to him essential that the Htee should be placed on the Pagoda by our own subjects, and not by the king,

as had been contemplated. He further saw the necessity of the matter being disposed of at the earliest possible opportunity, and addressed the Burman Court to know when the Htee would be sent down. They replied that they would give intimation of its proposed departure, and some further correspondence led to their fixing on the Burman month which extends from the beginning of September to the beginning of October. It was thus apparent they had selected the great religious festival of the full moon of the Burman month Tasoung-moung as the time when it should reach Rangoon: the full moon this year fell on the 27th October. At this yearly festival enormous crowds of Burmans come from all parts to worship at the Rangoon Pagoda, and the presence of the Htee, with the ceremony of its elevation, were certain to intensify the ordinary excitement of the period.

Meanwhile, the Chief Commissioner had taken steps to consult the feelings of the people as to their conducting the elevation of the Htee themselves, the result being that he appointed a committee of five of the most influential Burman inhabitants of Rangoon to manage the reception, charge and disposal of the Htee on its arrival in Rangoon. Attached to them was the senior Extra Assistant Commissioner in the province, named Moung-Oon, a man of an old respected Talain family, whose brother had held high office under our Government, and who is connected in marriage with other influential families in the province.

Mr. Eden also instructed the political agent at Mandalay to let the Ministers know that there was no necessity to send with the Htee the large number, that had been intended, of artificers and workmen, as the arrangements had been completed in Rangoon to receive charge of the Htee on its arrival, and have it placed on the Pagoda by the Townspeople themselves.

The Political Agent at Mandalay carried out the wishes of the Chief Commissioner with much tact, and, after some negotiation with the Court of Ava, announced that the King had acquiesced in the proposal that the actual elevation of the Htee should be carried out by the subjects of British Burma. His Majesty appointed an old and trusted official of his Court, the Poopa Woodouk, to proceed to Rangoon in charge of this precious offering, and associated with him four minor officials, with some ninety followers.

They left Mandalay on the 5th October in one of the King's steamers and stopping at most of the towns on the river, reached the frontier on the 17th. At Thayetmyo, our most advanced station, Captain Poole, Assistant Commissioner, was placed on board with a small party of Police to regulate the passage of the steamer through our territories, and to control any visitors that might come on the steamer in case of a stoppage being made at any station where there was no official of standing.

The steamer did anchor at four or five places, but there was very little curiosity or excitement shown by the people—a result which somewhat astonished the Burmese officers.

On the 22nd October the steamer reached Rangoon, and a letter from the King's Prime Minister was at once brought to the Commissioner. Its tone was highly satisfactory. The Minister wrote that His Majesty, being desirous of offering a new Htee for the Great Pagoda, had sent it down by his officers, with skilled workmen to assist in its erection, but that if it was desired it should be raised by the people of Rangoon and British Burma, it should be so, and his officers were directed to act entirely in accordance with the wishes of the Chief Commissioner.

A small deputation, consisting of the Town Magistrate, Mr. Edwards, late Collector of Customers, Rangoon, and Extra Assistant Commissioner Moung-Oon, went on board the steamer on its arrival to welcome the King's Officers.

Next day the Poopa Woodouk and his officials, were received by Mr. Eden at Government House, where the principal officers in Rangoon were invited to meet them.

The interview passed off very satisfactorily and it was arranged that the Htee should be landed next day, and placed in a building erected for its reception on the bank of the river. This having been done, the Poopa Woodouk and his attendants were received on the 26th October by the Chief Commissioner at the Secretariat Buildings, in the presence of most of the Civil Officers in Rangoon. The Extra Assistant Commissioner, Moung-On, and the elders of the town, were also present. Here the letter from the Minister to the Chief Commissioner was read aloud, and the Poopa Woodouk then handed a letter to Mr. Eden, to the effect that, in accordance with the Chief Commissioner's desire, he made over the Htee to be erected by our own people.

The Chief Commissioner thereupon officially made over the Htee to Maung-Oon and the elders of the town, giving them permission to erect it on the Pagoda.

Next day the Poopa Woodouk was conveyed to the residence prepared for him and followers, and thereafter remained as the guest of the Government.

On the 28th October the Htee was conveyed with great ceremony to a house prepared for it on the Pagoda upper platform: its size and weight required that it should be taken tier by tier, and the procession was one of great length. The people numbered certainly 50,000, and some hours were consumed in reaching the Pagoda, which is about a mile and a half from the river. Every precaution had been taken to preserve order, and the whole day's proceedings passed off without the slightest disturbance.

From this date the Pagoda became a centre of attraction to the people of Rangoon and the neighbourhood, and crowds daily congregated there. Meanwhile, the arrangements for bringing down the old Htee and raising the new one went on with great vigour.

The upper two-thirds of the Pagoda were entirely covered by a huge basket-work scaffolding of bamboos, rising to a point above the Htee; this was strengthened by wooden poles and beams, and a most intricate machinery of ropes and pulleys was constructed to carry out the work of elevation. Briefly described, the operation was thus carried out. A roadway of six strong ropes was made from a point on the platform, about four hundred feet from the centre of the Pagoda, to a point on the face of the Pagoda, about two hundred feet from its base.

On this rope roadway ran a carriage, whereon was placed the portion of the Htee to be raised.

The pulling rope stretched up to an equal height with the roadway, and passing over the shoulder of the Pagoda went down to the other side, where traction was made as occasion required by thousands of people only too anxious to share in the merit of having a hand in so holy a work. From the point where the rope roadway reached the face of the Pagoda, the further elevation was made of ropes working on a pulley and crane erected on a platform which had been constructed on the highest point of the scaffolding. The whole apparatus and mode of controlling it was left absolutely in the hands of the native workmen, and though cumbersome and intricate, the care and nicety with which operations were carried on were specially noticed by the many European officers who visited the Pagoda while the work was in progress.

The old Htee having been taken down, the lowest tier of the new Htee was raised on the 21st November as far as the rope roadway reached, but the machinery not being quite ready, it was not finally placed on the top of the Pagoda till the 23rd. On the following day the other tiers were put in position, and on the 26th the flag or vane surmounted the Htee, and the ceremony was complete.

On the 27th the Poopa Woodouk was conducted to his steamer and next day left for Mandalay.

During the entire proceeding of placing the Htee on the Pagoda the operations were conducted solely by the people of British Burma, our own subjects, the Poopa Woodouk and his officers regularly attending the various ceremonies, but taking no active share in the work.

The labor expended must have been very great, and it was given without payment, the merit of sharing in the good deed being to the Burman sufficient reward. There were 50,000 bamboos and seventy boat-loads of cane used in constructing the scaffolding and, in addition to this, there were hundreds of wooden poles, and some fifty logs of timber employed in platforms and points on which blocks and ropes were worked. During the first month there were about 300 men continually employed and for the last month fully 500 were daily at work on the great undertaking. At the beginning the labor was merely manual, but latterly the most skilled workmen in Rangoon freely added their share,

and devoted themselves to the task before them. The value of the labor may be fairly estimated at Rs. 20,000; and, considering it was all free, there must have been great natural capacity for organization, for the work went on with great regularity and steadiness, the several portions being systematically allotted to particular bodies of workmen under their individual chief, and so with infinite care, but with much skill, their enterprise was completed.

But in addition to the contributions of our subjects in the way of labor, there were presented for the adornment of the Htee numerous valuable gifts, of which an account will now be given, with a preliminary sketch of the position and elevation of the Pagoda.

The Pagoda is placed on the spur of a hill overlooking Rangoon, the natural elevation of the site being considerable.

The actual structure is composed of three successive terraces of diminishing size.

The upper terrace or platform is an oblong of 900 by 700 feet, and is at an elevation of 76 feet from the roadway at the bottom of the steps.

In the centre (nearly) of this platform is placed the Pagoda, a solid cone of brickwork. This cone is for the first 95 feet octagonal and terraced with a base of 400 feet by 400, and from the top of this octagonal portion the cone becomes circular, rising still 217 feet to the summit. The complete structure, therefore, from the roadway to the summit is 388 feet, while the height of the true Pagoda from the platform is 312 feet.

On the pinnacle of the temple, and partly surrounding it, is the Htee which is 47 feet in height, but only overtops the Pagoda by 35 feet.

The Htee, which is made of wrought-iron, consists of seven successive circular tiers, the lowest of which is 13½ feet in diameter, and weighs a ton and a third; on the top of these rises a spire, on which is placed a flag or vane.

The following is an abstract of the value of the various articles composing the Htee:—

	Value
Presented by the King of Burma. Gold (mostly used as a solid plating on the iron)	Rs. 2,36,187
Precious stones, viz. Rubies, Emeralds, Diamonds, Pearls, Cat's eyes, Sapphires, Garnets, Corals, and Topaz	53,066
Portions of the old Htee re-used in the new one; old gold on the former Htee re-used on the new one	38,446

	Value Rs.
Bells on the old Htee re-used ...	.... 1,23,644
Contributed by the people of British Burma; gold plating, added to Htee in Rangoon	31,337
Precious stones placed on the Flag ...	15,079
Smaller offerings of Jewels, Anklets, Bracelets, Rings ....	.... 15,517
New bells, gold, silver and other metals	.... 1,09,641
<hr/>	
Total value of the new Htee ...	6,22,917

In addition to the above, there were contributed in Rangoon precious stones of kinds to the value of Rs. 5,076 which were placed in bottles and lodged at the base of the Htee, and Rs. 5,551 in coin were received in the subscription boxes on the Pagoda for general expenses.

Still there has to be added the large sums daily devoted to feeding the workmen and entertaining the general public, who visited the Pagoda throughout the whole period of the ceremony. There were numerous depots, where were freely given sherbet, cakes, green tea, cheroots, and various condiments in use with the Burmese, while slowly moving through the ground were numbers of women, wives and daughters of the most respectable inhabitants of the place, distributing similar articles to all who desired them, or showering perfume over the people and the precious offerings. The perfect freedom and safety with which they moved about, and the consideration and even courtesy with which they were everywhere treated, were naturally subjects of wonder to many European lookers-on; but even the Mandalay officials admitted their surprise at the admirable temper and conduct of the masses of people who were constantly crowded together for nearly all the hours of daylight. The average crowd on the Pagoda was probably about 30,000 people; but on particular occasions double that number was present, and in one day the numbers were believed to reach 100,000 either on the Pagoda or in its immediate neighbourhood.

If we take the value of the gifts contributed by British Burma to the Htee, and of the labor freely given, as well as the sums spent in entertaining the people, the total amount expended directly in connection with the ceremony may be estimated at two lakhs and a half, or £25,000.

A special object of notice was the flag or vane which surmounts the Htee. It is called in Burmese the "Hngei-ma-nah," a word meaning that a bird cannot perch on it. The framework of this was of gold in the shape of a tapering pennant, about two feet in length, and on it were placed numerous precious stones of great value. Many were the gifts of the ladies of the Palace at Mandalay, and the vane, when it reached

Rangoon, was considered worth Rs. 25,000. While exhibited on the Pagoda, the pious contributors added many jewels, and when placed on the summit of the Htee its value was Rs. 40,000.

The lavish personal sacrifice of the people can be seen by the amount already mentioned as having been contributed in Rangoon, but the sincerity and good faith with which their offerings were made could be judged only by witnessing the anxiety with which they crowded to the place set apart for their reception.

Everything was done with regularity and some formality. Writers put to record the particulars of the offering and the donor; some of the elders presided in the receipt and the disposal of the gifts; and at the close of every day the accounts were closed with precision.

An old woman totters up with a small piece of gold which would be taken with as much care and form as the most valuable gift; some country visitor, probably unprepared for the occasion, presses forward with the anklet of silver just taken from her child's feet; a girl nervously pulls off a pair of handsome earrings, whose value will entitle them to an immediate place on the vane; a man takes off his ruby ring and adds it to the heap; and occasionally comes a wealthy trader with a large gold bell carried in procession, a gift of mark and value. And so the spirit of sacrifice works; the pile of earrings, necklaces, rings, bracelets, precious stones, and sheets of gold increases, and the poverty, as well as the good-will of many donors, is shown by the hundreds of pinchbeck rings thrown into the heap of offerings.

The bells were so numerous as to cause some difficulty in their disposal. Those of gold numbered 54, value Rs. 60,854; of silver there were 1,117, value Rs. 1,61,896; of pinchbeck 11, value Rs. 8,914; and of bell metal 162, value Rs. 1,620. They varied of course in size and weight. Some were pretty conceits of small dimensions, while others were nearly rejected from their being from fifteen to twenty pounds in weight.

It need hardly be said that visitors to Rangoon came from all parts of British Burma. The advent of so large a concourse of people was looked upon with some anxiety, and crime and disorder were generally anticipated, but most happily it turned out entirely otherwise. In the actual conduct of the ceremony, and during the processions and special days on the Pagoda, there was absolutely no disturbance whatever. No ill-feeling, no party-spirit, or political demonstration of any kind occurred. The religious enthusiasm was of course excessive. Wild dancing, beating of drums, clashing of cymbals, and every possible manifestation of excitement were freely indulged in, and never interfered with; but beyond these almost fanatical outbursts of religious fervor, which, though noisy and unrestrained, were not disorderly, the conduct of the people was amazingly patient, and they proved most amenable to the control of the

authorities as well as of the elders and heads of the various quarters of the town, who exerted themselves most earnestly to maintain order, and with great success.

So also there was no increase of crime in the town; indeed, there was actually less than the average number of offences; and the quiet and good order which prevailed were subjects of general remark and notice. At a time when the ordinary Burmese population of the town was doubled, and many daily visitors went to swell the numbers, when also, much excitement was inevitable, extra precautions of course became necessary. The ordinary Police Establishment was increased, however, by one hundred men only, and a detachment of fifty picked native officers and men were gathered in from the various districts, who proved most valuable and sufficient. In consultation with the military authorities, a guard of fifty Europeans was placed in the public offices in the town, giving entire protection to the Bank, the Government building, and that portion of the town containing the principal mercantile places of business.

A native guard was placed at a point controlling the most troublesome part of the town. A party of Sepoys most usefully supplemented the ordinary police guard over the jail, and the guards on the Pagoda, which at once protect the arsenal and overlook the upper platform, were temporarily strengthened. The Police arrangements met with the entire satisfaction of the Chief Commissioner. Under the personal orders of the Inspector-General the disposition and management of the force was conducted by the Superintendent, Mr. Hildebrand; and the Chief Commissioner has already placed on record his opinion that that officer deserves special recognition for the intelligence and judgment with which he directed and controlled his men.

Mr. Eden has also noticed in the letter above alluded to the meritorious services of Mr. Reed, Assistant Superintendent of Town Police, and his inspectors had much hard work thrown on them, and acquitted themselves most creditably. Inspector Shwe Baw, from the Thayetmyo District, maintained his high character as a clever detective, and an unobtrusive loyal officer.

Head Constable Moung Hngine, from the town of Prome, attracted the attention of the Chief Commissioner on many occasions by the tact and management he showed in working his men amongst crowds of excited people. Mr. Eden added that he had many opportunities of judging of the conduct of the Police generally when placed under circumstances fairly to try them and to test many of the qualities necessary in a good Police, and result was most creditable to all grades.

Before the Htee arrived, and when the first arrangements for its reception commenced, Mr. Eden invited Mr. Edwards, late Collector of Customs in Rangoon, and just retired on his pension, to give his aid, and his services proved exceptionally valuable. His long career in the public service is well known to Government, and his intimate acquaint-

ance with Burman character and customs was most usefully employed on the present occasion. He is universally known and respected among the people of Rangoon, while of the Court of Ava, and as it so happened individually of the Poopa Woodouk, his personal knowledge extends over the past 35 years. During the whole time of the late ceremony he was unremitting in his exertions to remove all difficulties, and the Chief Commissioner gladly placed on record his high appreciation of the important assistance he received from Mr. Edwards.

At the head of the Committee of Burmese Elders was Moung-Oon, the Extra Assistant Commissioner, and associated with him was another officer of lower grade, Moung Wyke. They fully earned the approbation of the Chief Commissioner by their constant endeavours to carry out his wishes, and by their cordially bringing all their influence to bear on the completion of the work in accordance with the views of Government.

They received in public, on the completion of the ceremony, the thanks of the Chief Commissioner for their services.

[The above note on the New Htee, to which reference is made in Mr. Nolan's Article (p. 30) is published with the consent of the Local Government. I made a copy of it from Sir Arthur Phayre's papers in the British Museum (On 3474)—P.M.T.]

THE CANT OF THE MUSICIANS OF BURMA.

As racing slang, club slang, college slang, literary slang, political slang, thieves' cant, tinkers' cant, printers' cant have come to stay in the English language, the *ban* : , the cant of the musicians of Burma, is really a language within the Burmese language; and it has found an hospitable asylum at Yandoon, Henzada and Mandalay. *Sugalein* is the school slang of Burma and is known by all Burmese school children; but the *ban* : or *ban* : *saga* : was formerly known only to the musicians. The uninitiated could not understand a word of it. Its vocabulary seems fairly extensive though not exhaustive; and the musicians are supposed to be able to converse in this vulgar tongue on any topic among themselves.

When and how this cant evolved is a problem which cannot definitely be solved by any of the modern musicians. The consensus of opinion, which I have been able to collect, shows that the cant is not yet a century old. It contains Pali words, Talaing words, archaic and obsolete Burmese words, modern Burmese words which are not of frequent use and not generally grasped by a non-Burman.

The actors and actresses, by constant association with the musicians, have learnt the cant; but they do not, as a rule, employ it in their ordinary parlance as their cousins - the musicians.

During the last quarter of the 19th century, the young men of Yandoon, Henzada and Mandalay adopted this cant as a medium of communication among themselves and used it with such avidity and constancy that their descendants, the present generation of young men of these towns, caught the contagion and have now made it the language of their daily conversation.

Although the *ban* : of the musicians is still a sealed book to the general public, except of course to the people of the said three towns, some words, such as *mâdi*, *myâ*, *ngâne* : , *naikta*, have now become common property of the public as they are very frequently employed by the buffoons of the *Anyeint* troupes. These words even found their way into the songs sung by leading actors and actresses.

I may also mention that the Manipurian language is now the cant of the bazaar sellers and drapers of Mandalay and is largely employed by these people whenever they have occasion to converse between themselves in the presence of strangers and visitors to the Burmese Capital. The jewellers and persons who follow other callings in Mandalay have also cants of their own and understood by them alone.

I give below a short vocabulary of the *ban*.

MAUNG THA KIN.

1 Nganè :	...	...	Man ;
2 Mada.	...	...	Woman ;
3 Madl; Myâ	...	...	Young lady ;
4 Yaw :	...	...	Monk
5 Nâwâ	...	...	Indian ;
6 Sân gyit	...	...	Chinaman ;
7 Khwâ :	...	...	Karen ;
8 Alon :	...	...	Mad man ;
9 Zalo	...	...	Dog ;
10 Ge hà	...	...	House ;
11 At tha	...	...	Horse ;
12 Magwè :	...	...	Thief ;
13 Lon :	...	...	Stone ;
14 Thauk	...	...	Turban ;
15 Sut hpa :	...	...	Coat ; jacket ;
16 Chin :	...	...	Paso ; longyi ;
17 Dauk	...	...	Shoes ;
18 Palaw :	...	...	Banana ;
19 Daung	...	...	Pickled tea ;
20 Daung Sabè	...	...	Tea ;
21 Malay :	...	...	Cigar ;
22 Byat	...	...	Cards ;
23 Byat (t : thi)	...	...	To gamble ;
24 Shut	...	...	Liquor ;
25 Nwè.	...	...	Opium ;
26 Nwè. tha ma :	...	...	Opium eater ;
27 Pon :	...	...	Cooked rice ;
28 Bala.	...	...	Pwè : ; theatrical show ;
29 Bala. shu. thi	...	...	To look at a pwè : .
30 Nga hnan	...	...	Jewellery ;
31 Nga ta yaw	...	...	Flute player ; fiddler ;
32 Ta bwe	...	...	One ;
33 San. thi	...	...	To die ;
34 Naik thi	...	...	Fine ; to do ;
35 Lon : thi	...	...	To drink ;
36 Wa. ; Wa. pay :	...	...	Keep quiet ;
37 Tay. thi	...	...	To throw ; to steal ; to beat
38 Shaw : thi	...	...	Not good ;
39 Lon : tay. thi	...	...	To throw stones ;
40 Magwè tay. thi	...	...	To steal ;
41 Cheik thi	...	...	To put on ; to wear ;
42 Thauk cheik thi	...	...	To put on a turban ;
43 Shu. thi	...	...	To look ; to see ;
44 Tut thi	...	...	To eat ;
45 Pon : tut thi	...	...	To take meal ;
46 Yun : thi	...	...	To go ;
47 Kaw. : thi	...	...	To speak ;

48 Zu.	...	...	Pork;
49 Ganaing	....	...	Jungle;
50 Ngakè:	....	....	Money.

Is U Yin Gyi a National God of the Burmans? ?

Pyapon district is a Talaing country inhabited by Burmanised Talaings, who have forgotton their own language, literature, customs and manners, now sparsely mingled and mixed with the upcountry and overseas elements; yet certain of the distinctive characteristics of the soil are still retained.

As regards their vocation in life it has been only within the last three decades that they took to husbandry leaving behind the fishing industry which their forebears considered eminently lucrative and which they had to leave with an effort in order to take up the more respectable, but in their opinion the less lucrative, work of the tillers of the ground. Despite the change of their vocational occupation and the spread of orthodox Buddhism to these parts, they are still saturated with animistic and demoniacal beliefs. To shake off the animistic beliefs of those who still continue in the path of their ancestors is a task beyond the ken of any man even at the present time.

Pyapon district has a history of its own and is fortunate in that it can claim the honour of being not only the manufacturing and distributing centre of the best *ngapi* (salted fish paste) and dried fish suited to the palate of, and relished by, the Burmans; but also of being the birth place, home and abode of two famous gods known as U Yin Gyi and Abo, both of whom have a retinue of undergods and a number of adherents and followers. U Yin Gyi may truly be called a national god of the Burmans of Lower Burma.

My predilection to style U Yin Gyi as a national god is mainly based on the fact that its worship or propitiation in Lower Burma is very general and popular though its sway and jurisdiction are confined to certain localities only inasmuch as the Burmans and Talaings, almost to a man, from whichever part of the country they hail, are apt to fall in line with the natives of this district in the matter of worship or propitiation of U Yin Gyi from the very outset of their arrival here. The sway and jurisdiction of Abo are limited to Pyapon district and portions of Hanthawaddy, Bassein and Myaungmya districts which form the seaboard; while the sway and jurisdiction of U Yin Gyi extend to and embrace the Commissioners' divisions, as at present constituted by the Burma Government, of Irrawaddy, Pegu and Tenasserim, stretching from the sea right up to Prome district up to which the flood tide of the deltaic rivers and creeks ascends from the sea. Thus U Yin Gyi is styled and addressed during the performance of festivals conducted in his honour as the "Lord of the two provinces where both sweet (fresh) waters and

brackish waters flow" and as the "Lord of Kyunnyogyi and Meinmahlagyun" (the great dark island and island of fair ladies) which are situate within a few miles of the new town of Bogale in Pyapon district.

U Yin Gyi, though quite a young god as compared with the 37 national gods of Upper Burma who were deified by royal ukasis, pushed his way up so pluckily, though not without jealous opposition from his elder spiritual brothers, that he has now practically, in Lower Burma at least, usurped the places of, and almost superceded, the 37 national gods or "spiritual princes" as they are styled in Burmese. The latter are now so little known or propitiated or given a festival in Lower Burma that their worship would very soon be consigned to the limbo of oblivion unless it be revived and given a new lease of life, though they still survive in the dim and obscure memory of the present generation.

U Yin Gyi was, as late as the last century, depicted in the paintings, pictures and the imagination and belief of the people as always using as his riding vehicle a ferocious tiger and was mainly propitiated and worshipped to appease his anger which used to visit the people in the form of accidents and divers kinds of diseases specially in children.

His birth as a god or rather his death as a human being is to be found in a pathetic tradition of which there are many versions. I shall give only one of them which is generally accepted as authentic and reconcilable to other versions in most details.

The story goes that U Yin Gyi was born at Pegu and that his parents removed from Pegu to Dalla which in his days was a flourishing town and larger in size and importance than the Rangoon of those days as it was then the seat of a Burmese Governor. The period at which the hero of our story lived is variously set down by some at about 1000 B. E. and by others at a much earlier date. The difference is so great that one is at a loss to accept either of them. None from whom I made my enquiries could state the period definitely. Whilst as yet in his teens he took service, at the entreaty of his widowed mother whom he was supporting, under a timber merchant who came to Meinmahlagyun and Kyunnyogyi where there were deep and extensive virgin forests abounding in divers kinds of wood used in house building. The merchant had the timber cut to sizes and formed them into a raft. In the meanwhile U Yin Gyi, a very skilful player on the *saung* (a Burmese harp) played on it in lonely spots in the enchanted forest at Meinmahlagyun which was, till quite recently, haunted and infested with wild game and carnivorous animals. The story goes that every time U Yin Gyi played on his harp a number of fairies, assuming the human shape, would make a sudden appearance and dance to the tune of the harp; and that as time went on they became enamoured of the amateur musician. One version of the story says that the fairies begged of him not to return to Dalla with the raft; and so he remained behind. Another version says that his *leikpya* (soul) was wrenched out of his human frame

by the fairies and was compelled to remain behind. The 3rd version, which is generally accepted as authentic, says that while the raft was about to leave the shores of Meinmahlagyun (the island of fair ladies, a name given by the merchant and his crew because of the presence of fairies), it remained stationary and immovable. Neither the flood tide nor brute force could move it from the shore. The fairies were supposed to have clung to the raft and to have refused to allow the raft to depart as U Yin Gyi was on board. The merchant believed that the unusual incident was due to the presence on the raft of one who should be left behind or thrown overboard; and his belief was shared by the crew. They all therefore agreed to cast lots following the world wide superstition. Three times the lot went to U Yin Gyi; so he was seized upon, securely bound and thrown overboard. It was then only that the raft could depart. U Yin Gyi, now in the role of a *nat* (god), occasionally helped the raft to proceed on its course without any mishap.

On arrival of the raft at Dalla the merchant told his mother that U Yin Gyi, of his own accord, remained behind at Meinmahlagyun. She therefore proceeded thither and made a fruitless search for her son high and low. One version says that U Yin Gyi appeared to her in the guise of an apparitional being. Another version says that U Yin Gyi assumed the form of a human being and appeared before her without uttering a word and disappeared instantly; and that she therefore gave him up as lost and returned home broken hearted.

Soon after his human death and after his birth as a god U Yin Gyi committed many acts of depredations in the districts of the divisions mentioned above. In consequence U Yin Gyi was given a place in the pantheon of the national gods by the frightened populace, and regularly propitiated. Down to the last century and even up to this day the belief has been widespread that either for indifference or any kind of provocative act or speech to U Yin Gyi the delinquent or an inmate of his household would be visited with such kind of disease or accident that no doctor could cure it. If the delinquent regrets his indifference or act or speech in time, he can counteract the effect of his omission or commission by propitiation to U Yin Gyi. The propitiation is done by an offering of vegetarian diet, consisting of *Kaukhnyin* a kind of starchy rice, banana, jaggery and pickled tea.

The time and manner of making offerings to U Yin Gyi differ considerably in different localities. In some places the offering is made at dawn and in others at dusk and before midnight. In those places where the offering is made at dusk the children and young men are allowed to snatch away the offerings immediately after the prayers are said. In other places the snatching is very strictly prohibited. If from ignorance of the custom, the offering is snatched away, it must be repeated the next night after asking for the pardon of U Yin Gyi.

U Yin Gyi was, until recently, believed to be a despotic, diabolically cruel and unreasonable god whose depredations are still fresh in the

memory of some aged people who are now living. His autocratic and demoniac rule over the lower province synchronised with the despotic rule of the last *Mokso* (Alaungphra) dynasty; and his reform commenced with the dawn of the present century. He is now believed to have taken to religion, to keep sabbath and to lead the life of a saintly god; but the people still entertain the belief that his council or assembly of under-gods still continue to help or harass the people at will as of yore.

A fact, which is very interesting and noteworthy to be remembered by the police department, is that no organised theft, robbery or dacoity is ever committed in Lower Burma without having made offerings to U Yin Gyi and without invoking his aid for protection from arrest and capture. The would-be criminals, before making the offering, would mark out the spot where the offering is to be made by running a stick or by pouring water on the ground which they call the "circular fence". Neither man nor animal is permitted to come into the marked "fence"; and the whole party comprising of all who had agreed to take part in the contemplated crime remain within the "fence" during the time of cooking of the meal for U Yin Gyi and before the ceremony is completed. Neither spitting nor answering the call of nature within that period is permitted. Even if unintentionally any of these rules is transgressed by any one of the party, the plan hatched is abandoned, as the transgression is believed to be an unpropitious incident or omen.

Throughout the year except the Buddhist lenten period almost every household in Lower Burma would at intervals make offerings to U Yin Gyi for the purpose of its protection from all accidents and diseases if not for any other reason.

Some people who are about to embark upon an uncertain enterprise such as gambling or speculation in paddy or rice on a large scale would invariably make offerings to U Yin Gyi just before they launched the undertaking. The U Yin Gyi worship is believed to bring good luck and also to act as a cheap form of insurance against loss and misfortune. The implicit faith of these people in this respect cannot be shaken by any method of reasoning with them. It may however be remarked by way of passing that the *Culagandhi* or the admittedly orthodox sect of the Burmese Buddhist monks, headed by the late Sayadaw U Okkantha, has done much to suppress spiritual worship, animistic beliefs and beliefs in witchcraft and demonology; and also to revive the practice of the original doctrines of the Vinaya Pitaka as in the time of Lord Buddha, whereby the Buddhist religion in Lower Burma was greatly purged of the schismatic and heretical doctrines.

The Festival.

The offerings mentioned above are those made by individuals and may be made at any time of the year except during the lent (between the full moon of Waso and the full moon of Thadingyut).

The festival, conducted in his honour, is truly a national one inasmuch as every household subscribes to the fund collected for the purpose, and is celebrated in all important towns of the Irrawaddy, Pegu and Tenasserim divisions in Tasaungmon or Nadaw (November or December) of each year. U Yin Gyi worship is always associated with that of Koe Myo Yin (the Lord of nine cities) one of the 37 national gods of Upper Burma to whom King Anawrata is believed to have assigned nine cities for his maintenance; and U Yin Gyi seems to owe allegiance to Koe Myo Yin alone.

When the festival is about to be held, two miniature palaces, built of bamboo and countrymade paper, in one of which is enshrined the picture of Koe Myo Yin and in the other the picture of U Yin Gyi guarded by two of his lieutenants, are erected. U Yin Gyi appears in the picture as a youthful and fair amateur musician holding in his hand a bow-shaped and boatlike Burmese harp, while his lieutenants are painted in ghastly and ghostly appearances with outstretched tongues holding in their hands ancient weapons of warfare as if they were about to strike or to commit any act of cruelty on the slightest provocation. These god-houses, or palaces as they are called, are placed some twenty yards apart facing each other at the junction of four wide cross roads of the town. Dusk is the time when the festival commences; it finishes before midnight. Invariably the performance is enacted as a play accompanied by music. Koe Myo Yin and U Yin Gyi are invited very reverently to come to the festival and to partake of the offerings of food made to them. Then Koe Myo Yin, whose part is played by a young man, would come majestically to the front of the palace assigned to him. He is immediately followed by U Yin Gyi whose part is taken by another fair young man with long flowing hair tied at the base with red cloth about three inches wide. U Yin Gyi would take his seat in front of his own palace. Then Koe Myo Yin would question U Yin Gyi as to whether the latter, loving the people as his own children, looks after them and gives them the necessary protection from all danger such as virulent diseases and epidemics. To the various questions put by Koe Myo Yin, U Yin Gyi would respectfully make suitable answers and vouchsafe the protection of the people from all kinds of danger with his army of undergods whom he summons at this juncture; he enjoins them to carry out the mandate of Koe Myo Yin to the letter. Then Koe Myo Yin, followed by U Yin Gyi, would depart leaving the undergods to partake of the offerings made to them to their hearts' content. The undergods, with dishevelled hair, dressed uncouthly in rags, painted with hideous hues and holding divers kinds of mock weapons of warfare, would make a sudden rush from all sides into the midst of the crowd, go to the altars and literally devour the *kauk huyin* rice and other eatables. Thereafter they would give a merry devil dance making weird noises and sounds for some time; and depart—bringing the festival abruptly to an end.

MAUNG THA KIN.

A NOTE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BURMESE LANGUAGE.

It is a happy sign for the future of the Burmese language that it is seriously grappling with the task of shaping itself into an adequate vehicle for the expression of modern Western ideas. In the course of their administration of the country, the English have found it necessary to impart these ideas to the people through the medium of Burmese as well as of English. Thus all government publications in Burmese (made of course with native assistance), are essays in modernised Burmese. But the new terms and expressions which these essays have introduced, will remain more or less stranded as petrified curiosities, until they happen to flow with the stream of the language and pass through the whirlpool of popular usage. The problem, however, is receiving national attention; and native writers, roused by the awakening of the national spirit, are finding suitable terms for the new ideas imported from the West.

A similar problem presented itself when the earliest writers, in the days of the kings of Pagan, were adapting the language to the needs of Buddhist thought, embedded in that highly metaphysical language, the Pāli. Through the efforts of generations of writers the language has now attained a standard of efficiency, by which it can enter into the subtlest discussions of Buddhist philosophy either as independent contributions or as literal translations from the Pāli. This achievement is all the more remarkable when we think of the difficulty, which English scholars, having access to the whole realm of Western philosophy, experience in translating the same Buddhist texts. A language which has moulded itself to the requirements of philosophical thought will, in so far as mental philosophy is more abstruse than physical science, be found equal to the needs of modern scientific thought. And there is no reason why, when it has assimilated Buddhist philosophical terms from the Pāli, it should not assimilate scientific terms from the English, which, be it noted, is a descendant of the family to which Pāli belongs.

But there is a prior claim on our attention. Whatever its origin the language has its traditions which must be studied and respected, if it is to develop along proper lines. For the history of any language will show that newly-coined words and expressions, which do not obey the laws of phonology, are not likely to be permanently adopted into the language. Our first task then is to study Burmese from the philological point of view. A philological knowledge of Burmese is necessary not only for the sake of Burmese itself, but also for a comparative study of Burmese and other languages, with which it is known to be connected. There are, for instance, many words which are common to Burmese and Talaing. Not until we know the oldest forms of these

words in both languages and find out their phonological values, shall we be in a position to discover which language has given them to the other, or whether both languages have taken them from an earlier common source.

Now the philological study of a language must begin with the earliest extant texts. Putting aside hypothetical considerations, we may regard the inscriptions of the Pagan period as among the earliest Burmese texts we have. A critical edition of these inscriptions (such as is being undertaken in the *Epigraphia Birmanica*) is urgently needed in order that we may find out the philological changes, which operate in them and through them in the later texts also. It would not only be a valuable contribution to Burmese history, but would provide the lexicographer with many a rare word and phrase current before the great poets began to write. Again it would give to philological studies just that starting-point, the lack of which is mainly responsible for our present amazing ignorance.

There are also other branches of the Burmese literature which have been unduly neglected. From the language standpoint works in Burmese on technical subjects, such as astrology, medicine, architecture and so on, are as important as the inscriptions. Without discussing, for the present, the scientific value of their contents, we may say at once that they need to be studied for their technical vocabulary and phraseology, which will help us considerably in our work of finding suitable words and phrases in dealing with modern scientific works. A scholarly edition of such works in Burmese is therefore an urgent necessity.

When we have explored the whole range of the language and have compiled a dictionary worthy of itself (such as the Oxford Dictionary is for the English) we shall not only be guided by its history but be able to draw on its resources in our work of shaping it for modern requirements. Many an old word will come to be revived, with a new meaning if need be; and many new terms formed out of old associations will come to be coined in consonance with the laws of phonology; while poets and artists will add beauty to the life of the language by creating works of art and style out of the materials gathered.

PE MAUNG TIN

NOTE ON THE SITTANS IN THE SECRETARIAT.

1. The Sittans in the Secretariat have been catalogued under the supervision of U Tin, K.S.M., etc. Three lists have been prepared, containing respectively the Sittans relating to Ahmudan villages, Athi villages, and villages which were jointly Ahmudan and Athi. The records have been grouped according to the date of compilation. Each parabaik has been numbered and each village entered in the list in serial order. The names of Myos and Taiks have been, so far as is at present possible, entered and remarks have been added to show whether the document contains merely a census list or also contains other material.
2. The records mostly date from 1145 and 1164. None dating earlier than 1145 have been traced but there are several specimens of intermediate years. I understand that there are also Pesa records with a wider range.
3. I may note also that there is a collection of Sittans in the Bernard Free Library. Those relating to Hanthawaddy have been copied and published with a rough translation in the Journal of the Burma Research Society (Vol. vi pt. 3; Vol. viii pt. 1). Those relating to Ramanya (Tenasserim) and Bassein have not yet been published. Among the settlement records at Myingyan there is a collection of Sittans which is fairly complete, although not so complete as I imagined. There must, I think, be other Sittans available in the record room if a careful search were made. Some of the earlier proceedings in the Myingyan district office contain a great deal of valuable material of this nature. Several of the Meiktila Sittans were published in a report on land tenures in Meiktila, compiled, I think by or under the supervision of the late Mr. Bridges or Sir Harvey Adamson. (This record is in print but whether it is in the Myingyan district I am uncertain).
4. The greater number of the Secretariat Sittans consists of bare lists of people. They are merely the original records of the census which was taken from time to time. Many of them, however, contain material regarding the ancestry of the headman, the manner in which he became headman, the boundaries of his charge and details regarding religious lands and revenue dues.
5. These records possess some historical value even if they consist of mere census lists.
 - (a) In several of them there are marginal remarks showing the status of people enumerated, as for example Ahmudan, Athi, Cheiksu and Kappa.
 - (b) They furnish material for estimating the population at the time over a large part of the country and thus render possi-

ble an estimate of the total population. Where as not infrequently happens, lists are available relating to successive enumeration, they have especial value as indicating the course of population. Thus in the Myingyan collection there are the records for Hle-sa-tun in the Natogyi Township containing a complete enumeration of the village for the years 1127, 1145, and 1164. (These records have been filed in the wrong order but the correct arrangement can quite easily be made out. U Tun Win, son of the Hlesatun Myinzi who furnished me with the copies in the Myingyan collection, can probably supply the originals. Until recently U Tun Win was headmaster at the Numtu School, but is now, I believe, Secretary to the District Council).

6. The documents which contain material in addition to the lists of people are all of historical value unless duplicate. Although generally similar many of the terms used are obscure, and one document will often throw light on the interpretation of another.

7. In my opinion all the records which U Tin has enumerated should be arranged according to the modern territorial division by districts in order of date, except duplicates, which may be destroyed at any time. Census lists relating to the same village in different years, and all which contain marginal remarks should also be preserved until they have been carefully studied. Other census lists are merely interesting as regards the totals of male, female and non-adult population. After this information has been tabulated the lists might be destroyed. The rest of the material can then be printed, and a few originals preserved as specimens.

Rangoon, June 1923.

J. S. FURNIVALL.

THE CENTRAL CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM AND THE MEANING OF THE WORD DHARMA¹.

A monograph under the above title by Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky, Ph.D., of the University of Petrograd was published in 1923 by the Royal Asiatic Society, as Volume VII of the Prize Publication Fund.

We are inclined to substitute the word "or" for the word "and" in the above title, for the author takes his stand upon the technical term Dharma as the central concept of Buddhism. In a properly constituted system in which parts are interrelated, there is no reason why some other leading subjects, such as Saccarh, Paññā or Anatta may not be treated as central conceptions.

While Mrs. M. Geiger and Professor W. Geiger treated the subject by purely philological methods, our learned author has considered the matter from the philosophical standpoint. His chief source is, however, not the Pāli canon but the *Abhidharmakoça* by Vasubandhu of the age of Pāli-Commentaries.

The author has not defined the word Dharma except in a foot-note on page 10 when he says that Dhātu is often defined as Dharma. He merely renders it by "elements of existence" and then explains their various classifications into Skandhas, Ayatanas and Dhātus. Dharma is a wide term. It includes both noumenon or phenomenon, e.g., Paññatti-dharma. It is either simplex or complex. For instance, the Cittadharma is a highly complex phenomenon. We are, therefore, of opinion that the author's rendering is inadequate.

It is interesting to note that in Mongolia, Tibet and parts of Siberia, Manuals corresponding to our *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* are being studied.

The author is quite right when he says on page 4 that the battle between the Sarvāstivādins and their opponents was fought on a different plane, about a question which had little to do with European conceptions of realism and idealism." This is abundantly clear from the *Points of Controversy*. The author has made a kindly reference to me and my colleague Mrs. Rhys Davids in foot-note 1 on this page. But pages quoted in the *Points of Controversy* are wrong and should be 375-6 where we said that in some such way the Sarvāstivādins had come to believe in continued existence of everything. The author admits that the controversy turns upon the question of the existence of the past and future Dhammas but he adds that it does not follow that they believed in immu-

THE CENTRAL CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM AND THE MEANING OF THE 63 WORD DHARMA.

table existence, for it would drift into the Sankhya system. But the trend of the argument is unconsciously to drift into that doctrine, see the sentence at the bottom of page 76, Appendix 1.

From a passage put in the mouth of the Buddha during a discussion with Ajivakas, which passage is not traceable in the Pāli canon, the author assumes in foot-note 3 on page 5 that the word Sabba (everything or all) means every item of the Buddhist exhaustive table of elements. We take exception to this interpretation. As none of the Schools objected to any element or factor of existence as non-existent, there would have been no controversy whatsoever.

Even supposing the Buddha did say that the twelve Āyatanas (or the five Skandhas or the eighteen Elements) were all that exist, he meant that these alone are existent and the rest, being mere concepts, are non-existent. He did not mean that the past or future dhammas exist. The past dhamma existed and the future one will exist but both are not existing. The fact is that the Sarvāstivādins by investing abstract time with an objective reality did not realise that they were merely dealing with concepts and not with realities.

Our author next proceeds to explain the various classifications of the element of existence.

Under Skandhas he tells us that the three-fold division into matter (rūpa), mind (citta-caitta) and forces (Sankhāra) is very popular in Mongolia and Tibet. In this three-fold division *caitta* corresponds to our cetasika. According to the author, the fourth khandha of our usual five-fold division is split up into two. But our fourth khandha is purely mental. Whereas the third group citta-vipriyukta of the three-fold division is physical.

In footnote 1 on page 7 we are told that among the physical elements is one called *avijñapti* which he considers to correspond to the moral character of a person. In our system we have Kāya-viññatti (bodily communicative quality), vacī-viññatti (verbal communicative quality). If we were to oppose the rest of physical qualities to these, we might label them aviññatti (non-communicatives). But we fail to see how a physical element can correspond to the moral character of a person.

On page 8 the author renders the term Āyatana by "entrance" through he generally adopts the word "basis". He seems to have been influenced by "Cakkhāyatana" being used as a synonym of "Cakkhudvara".

Even if the word "ayam" means entrance, that which widens (ayam tanoti) the entrance cannot be an entrance itself. But in the *Abhidhānappadipikā-sūci*, ayam is explained as the delight in the production of results (phalakāra-kanti). That which enlarges this delight is Āyatana.

On page 9 the author writes :—“An object which cannot be viewed as a separate object of cognition or a separate faculty of cognition is unreal, as e.g., the soul or the personality”.

Here he seems to lay stress on the word ‘separate’. But those who believe in the reality of the soul, Christians for instance, can always view it as a separate entity. Therefore we should like to eliminate the word ‘view’ from the definition of the real. An object which is capable of existence as a fact is real. In this definition we lay stress on existence and add the words “as a fact” merely to strengthen this stress.

Under the classification of elements into Dhātus the author holds that this classification is made from a different view-point. He says “Viewed as components of a stream of events called an individual or personality the elements are called Dhātus.” As a matter of fact in the Buddhist theory of flux which the author has not developed, khandhas or āyatanas are equally looked upon as components of this stream.

The author renders santāna (continuity by stream (sota)). He relying on Ab. K. says that Dhātu (element) is a synonym of gotra-kind. This is new to us. He says that Dhātu is often defined as Dharma but considers it only as partly correct because one Dhātu includes 64 dharmas and some other dhātus each correspond to a single dharma. There is here a confusion between logical definition and division. Dhātu is defined in the Hinayāna schools as that which bears its own intrinsic nature (attano sabhāvam dhāretiti) and Dharma is defined as that which bears its own characteristics (attano salakkhanam dhāretiti).

It is pleasing to find that Kunāralabha, quoted in footnote 2, page 11, more or less confirms the negative aspect of our own view of matter as impenetrable. But we are surprised that that Mahāyānists class with colours (which are realities) shapes (saṅthāna) which, according to us, are mere concepts.

On page 13 the author says the four primary elements of matter are always in equal proportions. If that be the case, there would be no such expressions as pathaviadhika, āpoadhika (cohesion-preponderating), etc. He takes repulsion as the equivalent of hardness for pathavi. But we would reserve this for the fourth element and substitute resistence as expressing impenetrability better. On page 14 it is said that these primary qualities of matter are brought under the category of tangibles. But the Theravadins exclude cohesion (āpo) from it.

Vasubandhu seems to go farther than Pāli Commentators on his speculations regarding atomicity.

Again, the Pāli Commentators content themselves with merely stating that there is as much water in a flame as fire in water but Vasubandhu attempted to adduce proofs.

On page 15 under elements of mind, the author regards our consciousness-group as pure sensation without many content. By content is meant objective content, but he treats mental components as objective contents. Therefore consciousness (*viññāna*) is without mental components. He does not tell us whether he treats it logically or psychologically. According to the Theravādin school, psychologically there can be no consciousness without any components *and* (*not or*) content. The Mahāyānists reckon only 50 Caittas as against our 52 Cetasikas and 10 general elements against our 7 Universals. These are differences in details.

They have three Asaṅkhatadhammas, whereas we regard Nirvana alone as such. The division of Nirodha (cessation into Pratisaṅkhyā and Apratisaṅkhyā fairly corresponds to our division of Nirvana into Saupādisesa and Anupādisesa. But they regard space as Asankhatadhamma. We call it Nicca-paññatti (permanent concept). As a concept it is not a reality, not a paramattha-dhamma.

On page 17 Manodhatu is not different from Mano-Viññanadhatu as in our system. It is certainly not for mere symmetrical arrangements as the author thinks that this differentiation in nomenclature has been made. The former according to our system includes Pañcadvārāvajjana (five-door cognition) and the two sampaticchanas (receptives) and the latter comprises the remaining classes of consciousness.

The author says that consciousness in the preceding moment of a process of thought acts as a mind-door, whereas the mind-door in our system is the Bhavaṅga moment after which the Manodvārāvajjana acts.

On page 18 the learned author is wrong in thinking that the Hadaya-vattu of our system (heart-stuff or what the physiologists call nervous system) occupies the same place as the sixth organ. This physical basis of thought is supposed to be momentarily generated and that which is generated in a moment serves as a basis for consciousness at the next moment. But it cannot be called the sixth organ mind-door. In the first place, the mind-door is mental; in the next place every preceding moment is not the mind-door; and in the third place there is no physical basis in the immaterial world which, if the author be correct, would have no mind-door at all. According to definitions of *Vedanā* and *Saññā*, the Mahāyānist seems to lay stress on the objective rather than the subjective side. In his definition of *Cetanā*, the author omits the main idea of determinism. A certain arrangement of elements is determined according to abstract law. But what determines this arrangement?

On page 20, the author renders 'Saṅkhāra' by forces, a term which we reserve for 'bala'. He says the most typical forces are the four physical forces of origination, decay, etc., Both physical and mental forces are brought under the one category of *Saṅkhāra*, because even the grosser elements of matter are reducible to forces. The physical forces

of origination and destruction are considered the subtlest of all forces, subtler than even mental forces, because they cannot be overcome till final extinction is reached. But Vasubandhu seems to have denied the reality of these forces.

Again, Asaṅgi-samāpatti and Nirodha-samāpatti are treated as pure forces (i.e. non-mental). Even general ideas (i.e. concepts or class names) are considered as a kind of forces, probably because abstract ideas as objects act on the mind.

After a succinct review of the elements of existence and their different classifications, the author proceeds on page 24 to consider the essence of the elements. He gets his four salient features of elements from the four philosophical propositions which the Tibetans call the four "Seals of Buddhism". In other words, he takes our characteristics of Anicca, Dukkha and Anatta as his first three features and Nirvāna as the fourth. He renders the term Dukkha by unrest. Thera Sīlācāra rendered it by unsatisfactoriness. We would render it by "painful" both in the sense of "causing pain" as in the expression "painful operation" and "full of pain" as in the expression "I am painful".

On page 26 the author treats of Anātma (anatta). What is called prāpti corresponds to our Kamma. Vasubandhu says:—"Whatever exists is a substance". But it is clear that by substance he does not mean that in which qualities inhere. There appears to be a fallacy in the following sentence:—"To every unit of quality there is a corresponding subtle element (dharma) which according to the Sarvāstivādins remaining for ever a transcendental reality, produces a reaction (lakhaṇa) which is wrongly interpreted as a quality." For then, Dharma would be a permanent substance in which qualities inhere or at least reaction sets in.

On page 28 the author expresses the Paticca-samuppāda as the vertical line of causation while he describes other relations as horizontal. If other relations include Kammapāccaya, it is both vertical and horizontal. The explanation of this important doctrine should not have been relegated to a foot-note on this page.

The author treats of Karma on page 31. Vasubandhu reduces it to will as in the Hinayāna system. But on page 34 the author says that "Karma is not quite physical (pudgalika) with the Buddhists as it is with the Jains, but it seems to be semi-physical since it interferences in the disposition of atoms, along with the principle of growth that accumulates them".

In the first place the word puggalika never means physical but personal. It is personal with the Buddhists as with the Jains. In the second place because will affects matter it cannot be called semiphysical.

The author deals with the impermanence of elements on page 39. Change is rightly explained by moments, but these moments are spoken

of as entities (dharma). The world is a cinema. Disappearance is the very essence of existence. What does not disappear does not exist. This is a very dangerous proposition. For it would lead to the logical conclusion that because Nirvāna does not disappear, it does not exist. It would be a mere chimera. As long as puthujanas (average people), whether Buddhists or non-Buddhists, take these phenomena of appearances and disappearances as realities but not as mere marks by which the indivisible duration or continuity of Beigson is viewed, described and explained, so long will they fall into this fallacy.

The author's comparison of the three instiants to three assailants on page 41 is striking.

The comparisons of the three schools of Sabbathivādins, Suttantika, and Vibhajjavādins as well as the contrast of these with the Saṅkhyā system will be found interesting.

On page 53, the author says Nirvāna is an eternal blank or absolute annihilation of sankhata dharmas.

According to the Sarvastivādins, Nirvāna is the essence which is the entity without consciousness. The author quotes Sir Bertrand Russell: "whosoever wishes to be a philosopher must learn not to be frightened by absurdities" and points out the absurdities into which bold logicians have fallen. According to the author only the systems which accept the doctrine of self-luminosity of consciousness escaped these absurdities. And yet Buddhism says: Cittāñca pandarāth—mind is white or luminous.

The theory of cognition is dealt with on page 54. Any attempt to class Buddhism as realism or idealism from this theory must fail. He says: "The question of reality of an outer world is obviated. In a system which denies the existence of a personality (the author means soul) there is no possibility of distinguishing between the external and internal world." The mere denial of a soul does not necessarily deny the reality of mental activities.

Buddhism regards both mind and matter as real. Therefore it is realism. But the world is a dream or a mirage to an average man (puthujana) for with his intellect he can know only the phenomena. Hence a Buddhist theory of knowledge without intuition is incomplete.

It will be noticed in passing that the Buddhist theory of contact of light and sound (page 60) with the eye and the ear foreshadowed the modern Wave Theory.

The discussion of pre-Buddhistic Buddhism on page 65 will be found interesting. Indeed it is interesting to note that the germ of the anatta theory was laid in the Upanishads by some previous thinkers. In his summary on page 73, the author regards Buddhism as a system of radical pluralism (sanghātavāda); he holds that "every element (Dharm) is a separate entity or force". We would eschew the word entity as a misnomer. Elements are only logically separate but not psychologi-

68 THE CENTRAL CONCEPTION OF BUDDHISM AND THE MEANING OF THE WORD DHARMA.

cally. Every moment represents not a separate, discrete element as the author has put it, but a multitude of elements entering into composition. The author like every other *puthujjana* says that the elements have no duration. The final result of world-process is its suppression but it is replaced by the immutability or *Nirvāna*. He concludes with a statement that Dharma is indefinable. No one will be able to tell its nature.

The book contains two appendices. Appendix I is on the fundamental principle of the Sarvāstivādin school.

The controversy between the Sabbathivādins and the orthodox school was originally reported in the *Points of Controversy* with simplicity but not without the heckling dialectic which is replaced with saner logic by Vasubandhu. Both the form and matter of arguments show an advance upon the Kathāvatthu.

Appendix II contains the tables of elements according to the Sarvāstivādin school.

Mahāyānism, the author says on page 67, is an independent line of development moving parallel to Hinayānism. We do not feel competent to criticise a system which we do not sufficiently know. But as the author says on page 3 that nothing is more instructive than the study of divergent views we have merely attempted in this review to point out the differences which we could see.

The author is to be congratulated on the get-up of a handy little Manual for students of Northern Buddhism. Every page is instinct with the author's earnestness to grasp the subject with which he deals.

S. Z. A.

THE KAREN PEOPLE OF BURMA:

A. STUDY IN ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY,

BY REV. H. I. MARSHALL, M.A.; printed at the Ohio State University Press.

The fourth volume in the series of monographs, dealing with the various races of Burma, printed by the help of the Local Government, is now in the hands of the Public. Its author, the Rev. Mr. Marshall, is well known in Karen land and has had an intimate and long connection with the people for whom he is laboring. It is an attractive volume, well written, the typography is excellent, and over a hundred beautiful illustrations adorn its pages. It sells at the A. B. Mission Press at Rs. 15 which we consider rather high for any book, but this volume is worth it. There are 329 pages of interesting reading matter giving us the latest and most up to date information regarding this progressive race, well known both in England and the United States.

We find that quite a literature has grown up in Karen, and about the Karens, since the first American missionaries came in contact with this shy, timid and illiterate race. Of this Mr. Marshall has made ample use. The book makes its appearance at the centennial of Dr. Wade, who gave the Karens their alphabet and their first books. It is a wonderful record when we think of the Karens a century ago as a wild, poor, down-trodden and helpless Jungle-people. To-day they are among the best educated, the most advanced and the most reliable of any section of our people.

The book is divided up into five sections; the first deals with general topics, such as Habitat and tribal distribution; the Origin of the Karens; physical characteristics; mental and moral characteristics; language, dress and ornaments, and Karen astronomy. Part two describes the life. We see the Karen in his home, at his meal, and in his daily occupation. Chapter XIII describes the bronze drums, where our author has done a valuable piece of original investigation. Part third takes up the Social life. We are told all that is worth knowing about their social conditions, their laws, warfare weapons and music; birth, marriage and funeral customs. Part four discusses very fully the religious life so important to the Karens. Here we meet with some of the traditions that still are a puzzle to ethnologists, and we see traces of divers influences that have put their stamp on this impressive race. The old animistic religion with its offerings, feasts, divinations, magic and tabu is fully dealt with, and the last part in two chapters shows us the growth of Christianity and the progress of the race. It is truly a study in ethnology not only for the specialist but also for the man who wishes to gain a knowledge of what can be done with tribes and races in this cosmopolitan land.

The chapter on the Origin of the Karens is of special interest to us. There can be little doubt that the migrations of the Karen tribes are

bound up with that of other tribes who found their way south through western China. No one has so far solved the problem of where they come from. Mr. Marshall has studied the Karen traditions, and as far as he goes, his conclusions are convincing. But personally I feel that he has not paid enough attention to the traditions mentioned by Dr. Mason. The mention of Bhamo in the Bghai poetry seems to me of more importance than the author is willing to admit. The reference may be vague, but often it is just a straw like this that tells us the flow of the stream.

The wonderful similarity between some of the Karen traditions and the first 11 chapters of Genesis, has as our author truly says been a wonderful help to the teachers that first came in contact with the people. But how is this similarity to be explained? That there is a real connection here can hardly be doubted. In fact other races, like the Kachins, have also stories and traditions that indicate influences and a higher state of knowledge than they now possess.

Some of us are inclined to find here faint echoes from the time when the Nestorians worked in western China and Jewish colonies found their way into this land. Mr. Marshall, however, thinks there is not much ground "For connecting the Karen story with either Jewish or Nestorian colonies in China". But I feel sure that the last word has not yet been spoken on this question. There is nothing impossible or improbable to see in these traditions reminiscences from an age when the Karens on their southward migrations through western China came in contact with Nestorian missionaries from Persia and Mesopotamia. Mr. Marshall's argument on page 11, that it is the Old Testament and not the New, that has left its impression on the Karens might prove just the opposite to what he tries to prove. Is it not more natural that a backward, childlike race should remember the Old Testament stories so full of elements that appeal to the child-mind, while the more abstract teaching of the New Testament would be forgotten? Even some of the best educated native preachers have more to say about Adam and Eve, the deluge and the tower of Babel than about the New Testament parables or Pauline theology. The question can not now be settled with any degree of certainty, but we trust that as we get familiar with conditions as they existed a few centuries ago in Western China, we will have some light on this interesting problem.

The book as already stated has a large number of valuable and fine illustrations; it has a Karen glossary explaining the Karen words used in the text, a bibliography of all the books on the Karens and other races in Burma, and a full index. It has been well received and deserves the widest recognition.

It would seem almost ungenerous to criticise so able a presentation of our Karens, but the reviewer is not able to drop the *s* when speaking of the tribes in the plural. Neither do I think that the argument used

for the innovation of always using the term Karen, is convincing. We speak of the Kachin and the Kachins ; the Shan and the Shans; the Talaing and the Talaings, the Burman and the Burmans, and we will no doubt continue to use the words Karen and Karens the same way. The title of the book is the Karen people of Burma. Of course the author knows that there are some Karens in Siam and probably a few in China. These can all be included in the term Karens.

O. HANSON.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College at 8 a. m. on 14th March 1924

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung, President (in the Chair)

U Po Byu	U Thein
U Tun Pe	U Tin

W. G. Fraser, Esq., I.E.S., Hon. Secretary.

1. Resolved that the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on 30th January 1924 be confirmed.

2. Resolved that at the meeting in August Prof. G. H. Luce should read a paper on the "Chinese invasions of Burma in the 18th century". The agenda to be—

- (1) Chairman's opening remarks.
- (2) Chairman calls on Prof. Luce to read his paper.
- (3) Prof. Luce reads his paper.
- (4) General discussion.
- (5) Chairman's closing speech.
- (6) Vote of thanks to Chairman.

3. Resolved that the following members should be deemed to have resigned :—

Capt. Calvert, Maung Tun Aung, Maung Tun Yin, Messrs. Manook, Douglas, Lazarus, Holme, Crawford and Van Horn.

4. Resolved (1) that a copy of notes by Sir C. M. Webb, U Tin and Mr. J. MacKenna be sent to the signatories of the letter making proposals regarding the preparation of a new Burmese—English dictionary, and that they should be asked for an estimate of the cost of the undertaking.

(2) that the Honorary Editor be authorised to publish the letter with a note stating that the Executive Committee has the matter under consideration and is making enquiries regarding the probable cost of the undertaking.

5. Resolved that the following be elected to the Sub-Committee for 1924 :—

U Shwe Zan Aung, Mr. L. F. Taylor, Mr. A. Cassim and Saya Tun Pe.

6. Resolved that (1) the following members be appointed as the Text-Publication Sub-Committee with full power to decide all questions relating to publication of texts, subject to sanction of the Executive Committee on matters of finance :—

The President (The Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung)

One representative of the teaching staff of University College (Mr. A. Cassim)

One representative of the teaching staff of Judson College (U Tun Pe), U Po Byu, Prof. Luce

(2) that the following be invited to become members of an Advisory Board to assist the Text-Publication Sub-Committee :—

U Tin	U Thein	} Members of the Society
U Po Sein	Saya Pwa	
U Saw Kywe	Saya Yeik	} Non-Members
Saya Lin	Saya Ba	
Saya Phi		

(3) that additions to the Advisory Board may be made by the Executive Committee.

7. Confirmed the election of the following ordinary members :—

Messrs. Md. Usoof Nankivara, D. Hendry, Maung Tun E, Prof. H. S. Jevons, U Hla Tin, Dr. L. D. Stamp.

W. G. FRASER,

Dated the 15th March 1924.

Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College at 8 a.m. 12th July 1924.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung, President (in the chair).

U Tin, A.T.M., K.S.M.	| G. H. Luce, Esq., I.E.S., Hon. Editor.
U Po Sein, A.T.M.	| D. G. E. Hall, Esq., I.E.S.

W. G. Fraser, Esq., I.E.S., Hon. Secretary.

1. The minutes of the meeting held on 14th March 1924 were confirmed.

2. Resolved that the scheme for a New Burmese-English dictionary be brought to the notice of the Government of Burma with the request that it will consider financing the scheme and placing men on special duty to carry it out.

3. Resolved with reference to the meeting in August

- (1) that the meeting be held in the examination hall of University College.
- (2) that notices be sent to Colleges; Schools; Teachers' Association; Y. M. C. A., (2) Clubs, Chinese Merited Association, Legislative Councillors, Members of Corporation, Rangoon Literary club, Burmese Chamber of Commerce, Chinese Chamber of Commerce; Government Normal School, Head Master, Chinese High School, Kemmendine, Fellows of the University.

4. Resolved to sanction Exchange for one year of the Journal for the Visva-Bharati Quarterly.

5. Sanctioned presentation of a set of the Journal to the Science Museum, South Kensington and placing the Director of the Museum on the free list.

6. Resolved to allot Rs. 500 for purchase of books during 1924, and Rs. 100 for copying passages from Chinese books for the library.

7. Resolved that Mr. Swithinbank's offer of books be accepted with hearty thanks

8. Resolved to print 50 extra copies of the forthcoming Chinese issue of the journal for sale to the History Department of University College at a price of Rs. 100.

W. G. FRASER,

The 18th July 1924.

Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of a Meeting of the Executive Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College at 8-30 a. m. on Saturday 27th September 1924.

P R E S E N T :

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung, President (in the chair)	
C. W. Dunn, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S.	| L. F. Taylor, Esq.,
G. H. Luce, Esq., I.E.S.	| U Tun Pe.
A. Cassim, Esq.,	| U Po Sein.

W. G. Fraser, Esq., I.E.S., Honorary Secretary.

1. Confirmed the minutes of the meeting of the Executive Committee held on 12th July 1924.

2. Approved draft letter to the Secretary to Government requesting that two rooms be allotted for the use of the BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY in the New Provincial Museum.

3. Resolved that Mr. W. G. Fraser, Honorary Treasurer, be authorised to sign on the BURMA RESEARCH SOCIETY'S account.

4. Resolved that Mr. Harvey's resignation from the Executive Committee be recorded and that Mr. Pe Maung Tin be elected a member of the Executive Committee in place of Mr. Harvey.

5. Approved an arrangement with the manager of the British Burma Press by which the Society's stock of copies of the Journal will be kept in the custody of the Press. Recorded the thanks of the Society to the manager for making this arrangement possible.

6. Resolved to place copies of the Journal in the hands of the British Burma Press for sale, a discount of 30 per cent being allowed on sales; it is understood that the manager of the British Burma Press will advertise the Journal for sale without charge to the Society.

7. Resolved that Mr. Pe Maung Tin be appointed Joint Editor of the Journal and General Editor of the publications of the Text Publication Sub-Committee.

8. Resolved—

(a) to appoint a dictionary Sub-Committee consisting of Messrs. Dunn, Stewart, Searle and Duroiselle, and request them to undertake the control of one year's work in the compilation stage of the new Burmese-English Dictionary;

(b) to sanction the sum of Rs. 2,500 for one year from the date of commencement of the work of the above Sub-Committee for expenditure as follows :

For prepara- tion of Dic- tionary.	{ Clerk's salary for 1 year Purchase of Burmese texts, stationery and contingencies	... Rs. 1,800 ... <u>Rs. 700</u> Rs. 2,500
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(c) that the draft letter to the Secretary to Government in reply to his letter of 16th August be approved as amended;

(d) that at a future meeting the question of making an appeal to the public for funds for the Dictionary be considered;

(e) that copies of U Tin's and U Po Sein's notes regarding the Dictionary be sent to the Sub-Committee;

(f) that U Po Sein be requested to give publicity in the vernacular papers to the effort being made by the Society to get a new Burmese-English Dictionary prepared and published;

(g) that the new Sub-Committee be requested to consider the feasibility of so arranging the material for the new dictionary as to facilitate production of an English-Burmese dictionary subsequently.

9. Resolved that the following members be deemed to have resigned Maung San Baw U, Maung San Nyun, Mr. Saw Pan Dok, Maung Than, U Kyi Oh, Maung E Maung, Maung Tha Myat.

W. G. FRASER,

The 29th September 1924.

Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of a meeting of the Sub-Committee held at University College on 12th July 1924.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung, President (in the chair).

G. H. Luce, Esq. | W. G. Fraser, Esq:

1. Elected as Members of the Society.

Mlle. Suzanne Karpelès (Life Member).

Captain R. R H. O. Tha.

2. Sanctioned payment of Rs. 20 by Honorary Editor to a Chinaman for correcting proofs of the Chinese issue of the Journal.

W. G. FRASER.

The 18th July 1924.

Honorary Secretary.

Minutes of a meeting of the Sub-Committee of the Burma Research Society held at University College on 27th September 1924.

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung

G. H. Luce, Esq., I.E.S.

L. F. Taylor, Esq., I.E.S.

W. G. Fraser, Esq., I.E.S. Honorary Secretary

(and any others present at Committee meeting who are also members of Sub-Committee).

Elected as an ordinary member on the proposal of Mr. Luce, Mr. J. P. W. Robertson, Rangoon.

W. G. FRASER,

Honorary Secretary.

ORDINARY MEETING.

An ordinary meeting of the Burma Research Society was held at University College on 27th June 1924. There was a large attendance of members and others. Prof. D.G.E. Hall read a paper by Mr. J. J. Nolan, F. J. I., Vice-President of the Society, who was unable to be present owing to illness. The paper was entitled "Sidelights on Rangoon in the seventies". At the call of the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung, a very hearty vote of thanks was given to Mr. Nolan for his very interesting paper and to Prof. Hall for reading it before the Society.

The paper will appear elsewhere in the Journal.

W. G. FRASER,
Honorary Secretary.

ORDINARY MEETING.

An ordinary meeting was held in the hall of University College on 29th August at 6-30 p.m. His Excellency Sir Harcourt Butler, Patron of the Society, very kindly took the chair. He was accompanied on the platform by the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung; Capt. Muir, A.D.C; U Shwe Zan Aung and Prof. Ward, Vice-Presidents. Prof. Luce, Honorary Editor of the Journal, read a paper on "Chinese Invasions of Burma in the 18th Century". The lecture, which was illustrated by an excellent map prepared by Prof. and Mrs. Stamp, was listened to by a very large audience. In addition to members of the Society, there was a large attendance of visitors.

After Prof. Luce had read his paper His Excellency the Governor, spoke as follows :—

Mr. Justice May Oung and Gentlemen, My first duty, and it is a very pleasant one, is to express our cordial thanks to Professor Luce for his most interesting, valuable and brilliant lecture. If evidence were required in justification of the existence of the Research Society, and assuredly it is not, Professor Luce, in succession to a long line of scholars, has provided it this afternoon. I can only tell you that I feel great pride in being patron of this Society.

And now for a few words about the Society. Its first meeting was held in 1910, and you Mr. President delivered the inaugural address—an address, if I may say so, full of right reading, right reasoning, and ripe wisdom. Indeed, it is impossible to exaggerate the services which you have rendered to this Society. One of the objects of the Society, as explained by Mr. Eales, was to increase the good feeling and mutual respect between Briton and Burman as fellow scholars. That object will, I hope, continue and draw together not only Briton and Burman but all who live in Burma and love Burma. Burmans are justly proud of Burma. No nation is worth anything that is not proud of its past

history and its antiquities. It is possible to be overburdened with pride in one's history, for the past should always be, as it were, the base from which to march forward into the future. But pride in the past can unite us all to day. There is a vast field for the scholar still unexplored. Our interest in Burma, as you, Mr. President, said 14 years ago, is not bounded by the geographical frontiers of our country. Within the Mongolian sphere of influence and especially Indo-China there is nothing human which is not our close concern. The influence of India, the struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism, the influence of China and Cambodia, the later relations of Burma with European adventurers, Portuguese, Dutch, French and English, still await treatment. The relations between Siam and Burma are a very fertile field of enquiry. It is most desirable, it is absolutely essential that we should carry out our own research and be in close contact with the researches of others in surrounding countries.

Much has been done by the Journal of the Society which I commend to the notice of those who do not see it, as a work of singular merit and value, now in the capable hands of Professor Luce. An excellent translation of the Glass Palace Chronicle of the Kings of Burma has been published under the auspices of this Society by Professor Maung Tin, whose return to Burma we all welcome with pride, and also by Professor Luce. This has received very favourable notice from Scholars in Europe and America, as well as in the East and it contains, to quote a phrase from it "great showers of gems of learning".

The Society then is of first-rate established merit. But it needs support. It has 357 members, and it wants more members with the subscriptions which those members will pay. It wants funds to produce Burmese texts and translations such as the excellent translation to which I have just referred. Through its text publication sub-committee, which enjoys the assistance of the best Burmese Scholars, it serves students in the University and outside it. Then it is desired to bring out a new and up-to-date scientific Burmese-English Dictionary. It also wants a Library. It has like other institutions in want, already applied to the Government for financial assistance. The rule of Government is to help those who help themselves. The Government will do its part but the public should first be approached to do their part, I know that this is not a very good time to ask for subscriptions, but I cannot but think that an appeal for a national object like this would bring in, at any rate, part of the funds which are required. The Society would then be in a position to secure the Government grant to complete the amount required for its purpose. The Government is sympathetic, but it would like to see some effort made by the Society and the public as well.

Then although the Society already has a name it has no local habitation of its own. This want and the mention of a library lead me to think as to your future. The founders of the Society had, I believe, before them as an ideal to work up to, the building up of a Research

Institute similar to the great Ecole Française of Hanoi. This will take time but it should not be beyond the resources of Burma. When I was a member of the Government of India in charge of the portfolio of education I assembled a conference of Orientalists who drew up proposals for a Research Institute in India. Those proposals never materialized. India is still without a Research Institute. I should be very glad to think that Burma would set an example to India in this respect; that it really would do something to enrich the world of learning and scholarship, that it really would follow the shining example of our French friends over the border. The time surely is not unfavourable. Burma is about to build a new and fine University. Research is one of the first functions of a true University. Is it not possible, I ask you, and I ask the University, that some scheme should be devised by which a Department of Research should be built up out of the activities of this Society and of the University? I commend this idea to the notice of all those who are interested in the subject. It is an ideal worthy of Burma, which can be realised from small beginnings, by steady application and support if only our aims are kept high.

It only remains for me to say once more, how pleased I am to be here and to thank you, Mr. President, Mr. Luce, and the many others who have helped in the work of the Society, so many that I cannot mention them all by name. I earnestly hope that the Society will secure a large increase of membership and that those who can afford it will give willingly and give well for the good and the credit of Burma, her history and her people.

In proposing a vote of thanks to His Excellency the Hon'ble Mr. Justice May Oung said:—

It is my privilege as President of the Society to speak on the vote which I have now to propose. As you pointed out, sir, this Society has been in existence for fourteen years during which we have slowly and steadily gathered round ourselves a band of scholars who have given their time and labour to the great work of love we are carrying on. In this work we have not been without assistance from yourself as patron of this Society and from Your Excellency's Government. I need refer to two specific instances, first the unique Anthology of Burmese Literature which was published under the auspices of the Imperial Idea Committee, a body which was due to the very great assistance and encouragement which you, sir, gave during your previous term in Burma. Then there is another piece of work which is of great interest not only to the Society but to the University, which has been going on for two years. I refer to the Ethnographical and Linguistic Survey of Burma. The Government had deputed an expert officer to go into the various dialects spoken in the Province and gramophone records of these dialects have been made. There is a great wealth of materials now waiting to be worked up. The work of collecting materials is about completed and it is our hope that the Society will be able to help the University and the Burma Government

in bringing this great task to final completion. The members of this Society owe a deep debt of gratitude to Your Excellency for the really scholarly and sympathetic interest which you have always shown in the work of the Society.

I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, to carry with acclamation a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency.

The audience responded very heartily to the call of the President. Professor Luce's lecture will appear elsewhere in the Journal.

LIST OF RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE LIBRARY.

By Presentaion

Annual Report of the Agri-Horticultural Society of Burma for the year 1923.

Buddhist Psychology, by Mrs. Rhys Davids.

Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for 1922-23.

Recent Operations of the British Forces at Rangoon and Martaban, by Rev. Thos. T. Baker, (1852).

Burma, After the Conquest, by G. Geary, (1886).

Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula, by W. W. Skeat, and C. O. Blagden, 2 Vols. (Mac Millan & Co. 1906).

Tihetuka vinicchaya Kyan, by Shin Taikkhindriya.

Endacriya Trinetra dat-pya Kyan, (Press Labourer's Association Press, Rangoon 1284).

Census Report of Burma. 1911 Parts I & II.

Races of Burma, by Major C.M. Enriquez (Calcutta : Government of India Central Publication Branch 1924)

Siamese books presented by Vijiranana National Library, Bangkok.

Phar Samut, a play composed by Prince Rajavang Bovorvijaijan, B. E. 2465.

The Cambodian Law on thefts, B. E. 2565.

Manners and Customs, Vol. XV (on the duties of the official in the Royal Household and on some Royal Ceremonies) B. E. 2465.

A Collection of Chronicles, Vol. XXVII, (a translation of L. Lanier's etude Historique sur Les Relations De La France Et Du Royaume De Siam De 1662 a 1703. B. E. 2465).

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JOURNEY OF LIEUT. SCONCE AND CAPTAIN WATSON INTO THE SHAN STATES IN 1863-64.*

During the 60's consistent endeavours were made by the British to open up a trade route with Western China by way of Burma. Little was known of the country which would have to be traversed in such an enterprise, and a number of wild schemes were put forward, such as a proposal for the construction of a railway from Rangoon to Keng-Hung, or even farther into Yunan. English Chambers of Commerce presented addresses to Parliament praying for such works to be taken in hand, and eventually the Chief Commissioner for British Burma somewhat reluctantly took steps to investigate the possibilities. Phayre was doubtful of the feasibility of building such a railway, and even more doubtful whether it would be profitable if built. Railways were, however, insistently demanded by British merchants, one suggestion being, for example, the construction of a railway to Bhamo with a view to opening up the Chinese trade by the Bhamo route. Finally, in the cold whether of 1863, two officers, Lt. Sconce, late of the Indian Navy and now Master Attendant at Moulmein, and Captain Watson, Assistant Commissioner of the Martaban District, were ordered to proceed into Burmese territory to explore the Salween region and to report on the possibilities of opening up a trade route across that area from Rangoon.

It was realised that some difficulties might arise with the Burmese government, for a previous plan by which the survey expedition was to proceed to Mandalay, thence into Chinese territory, and so down the Salween, had been rejected by Phayre on the grounds that the Burmese government would throw every obstacle in the way of such a journey. Phayre at the same time insisted that the Treaty of 1862 had admitted the right of British officers to travel through Burmese territory. Article 3 of this Treaty had provided that "Traders and other subjects of the British Government, who may travel and trade in the Burmese territory, shall, in accordance with the custom of great countries, be treated and protected in the same manner as if they were subjects of the Burmese Government." Apparently Phayre relied on this Article to justify the entry of his officers into Upper Burma; but there is no doubt that he realised the possibility of difficulties with the Burmese authorities.

The two officers were provided with letters from the Commissioner of Tenasserim to two of the Shan chiefs—the Sawbwa of

* Delivered to the Historical Association, University College, Rangoon, on the 7th December, 1929.

Mongpai, and the Sawbwa of Laikha, but the style in which these letters were framed was not such as to remove any suspicions which the Burmese government might entertain as to the object of their journey, for one paragraph in the letter to the Mongpai chief stated that "It is desirable that the great Tsaubwa of Mobyai should take into careful consideration the advantages accruing to his subjects and the people of Cambodia by cementing the friendship of the English rulers." And again, "If the great Tsaubwa desires to communicate his wishes and will send his letter in charge of these officers, it will be duly forwarded to the . . . great Woongyee and Ruler of India." Since the Shan States were known to be in a disturbed condition at this time, such a letter was far from tactful. It must be said, however, that Phayre himself had no hand in the composing of it.

Sconce began his journey from Moulmein on November 10, 1863, and proceeded to Bilin where he met Captain Watson, the two of them reaching Shwegen on the 30th of the month. They spent ten days there arranging for their transport, a matter over which they had some trouble as the disturbed condition of the Shan States made the owners of elephants unwilling to hire them out. Eventually they bought four elephants for Rs. 2,000, and on the 11th of December they set out for the east. On the 16th, they reached Bawgata, a village of fifteen or twenty houses, having had some difficulty as it was impossible for carts to get as far, and difficult even for elephants. From Bawgata they proceeded on their way on the 17th, passing over high hills, where again they had difficulties with their elephants. They were much impressed by the massiveness of the hills around them, and by the wonderful views they had of the Sittang valley; but it was obvious to them that the proposal for a light railway across this area towards the borders of China was quite impracticable, especially as they could see even vaster hills in the north-east towards which they were going and across which the railway also would have to pass. They continued on their way across the hills, complaining of the cold in the mist of the early mornings, which at times even prevented them from sleeping, passing through the varied scenery of the hills, until at last they reached the Salween itself on the 29th of December.

They seem to have met but few people during this journey over the hills, and to have had considerable difficulty in obtaining information about the route they should follow and where they could expect to find suitable camping grounds. Many of the Karens whom they met had never seen a European before, and apart from their natural alarm at the appearance of these strangers, they were also frequently ignorant of the Burmese language, so that communication was extremely difficult. The explorers were convinced in this early

INTO THE SHAN STATES IN 1863-64.

stage of their journey that proposals for opening trade routes through this wild country were quite impracticable. During part of this stage of their journey they were accompanied by Mr O'Reilly, the Deputy Commissioner of Martaban—a fact which helped to involve them in a good deal of trouble later.

They had intended to continue their journey along the eastern bank of the Salween, but this proved impossible. There was no good road, and also Sawlapaw, the Chief of Eastern Karen, sent messengers to inform them that if their journey was to take them no farther than Karen he would gladly receive them, but that if they wished to go on into the Shan States he would prefer them to choose some other route, as he feared that his relations with the Burmese Government might be compromised if he assisted them on their way. They knew, also, that Eastern Karen was a wild country, the people being in many parts "just a set of dacoits", acknowledging no chief or authority. The expedition had therefore no choice but to take the westerly route through Kyebogyi, and leaving the main stream of the Salween they proceeded towards Kyebogyi, intending to go from there through Mengpai to Mongnai. There were more people to be met in these parts than they had come across during their journey over the hills from Shwegyin, and they note in their reports meeting one curious tribe of people, who had a language of their own, and manners and customs quite different from those of the Red Karen; they wore, according to the travellers' statement, little or no clothing, but had masses of beads around the legs and thighs. Most of them hid in the jungle at the approach of the strangers, fearing that they had come to attack them and burn their villages. They found the country more widely cultivated than in the earlier stages of their journey, and they also met bullock caravans going to Moulmein with stick-lac and other produce of the Shan States. On January the 8th they arrived at Kyebogyi, which they thought a very poor place for the residence of a chief. They pushed on northward and on the 11th reached Ngwedaung. They found that there were two villages there, one Shan and one Karen, and that there were constant feuds between the two, the Shans living in dread of the Karen who took every opportunity of stealing their people and selling them as slaves; many of the Shans were anxious to make their escape into British territory.

None of the people believed that the object of their visit was only for purposes of exploration; they suspected some political motive; and by this time the suspicions of the Burmese authorities had been aroused, for though this was not really within the Burmese frontier, an official had just arrived from Yawngwe who questioned them about their movements and their intentions. On the 13th they resumed their journey, and on the 15th reached Mengpai in the southern Shan States. Here their troubles really began.

The Sawbwa of Mongpai was absent at Pekon, the Burmese post fifteen miles up the river, but his brother came to greet the travellers, who had encamped outside the stockade by the banks of the river—the Balu Chaung. They did not like the appearance of this brother—a short, stout man, with a disagreeable cast of countenance and, they report, a great idea of his own importance,—and they were not sorry to move on next morning to Pekon, where again they camped outside the stockade. The Burmese post here consisted of this stockade of an oval shape, about three hundred yards long and one hundred and fifty broad according to Sconce, though Watson estimated it at three hundred by two hundred feet. Inside the stockade there were only a few poor huts, and the armament consisted of one small two or three-pounder gun and a couple of jingals. The people of the place were very ugly and dirty; and altogether they found Pekon a depressing place. Here, however, they were forced to stay for no less than eleven days owing to the opposition of the Burmese officials. A body of about fifty Burmese soldiers surrounded them immediately on their arrival, and their leader demanded to inspect all their property; they refused to permit this, though they gave him a list of the contents of each of their boxes. He was particularly anxious to know whether they had any instruments for making maps, and he informed them that they could not continue their journey until permission had been received from his superior at Inle.

His troops, we are told, had a most disreputable appearance, dressed in dirty red jackets trimmed with yellow, hats like shields that had once been gilt, and green pasos; their arms were ancient flintlock muskets and dahs. The behaviour of these men they found most overbearing; indeed, they complain, they could not have been treated worse if they had been a band of dacoits. In the evening they went to the stockade to see the commander, but he would not himself interview them, and stayed in an inner room while one of his subordinates carried on a conversation in which he occasionally joined from within. He kept on asking them why they had not got the King's Letmat, and said that as they had no such permit they certainly could not proceed on their way. The Mongpai Sawbwa was in the village but was not allowed to visit them. Certain of his followers, however, came to them secretly at night and wanted to know whether the British would give assistance to the Shans if they rose against the Burmese, and even offered to attack the stockade that very night if the two Englishmen would join them in the enterprise. Such secret visits were paid to them nearly every night they were in the place. The hostility between the Shans and the Burmese was very obvious, and it was also apparent that the Sawbwa had no power in the state at all, and that the Tathmu was the real ruler. On the 19th the Tathmu himself arrived, having been absent visiting his

superior at Inle. He proved a much more pleasant and courteous official than his subordinate, and he expressed his regret at the treatment they had received. But he was as resolute as his lieutenant in refusing to let them leave the village. He, like everyone else, wanted to know why they had no Letmat from the King, and when they quoted the Treaty to him, replied that the Treaty was intended to apply only to traders, and not to government officials. Besides, he asked, why had they entered the Shan States by such a difficult and unusual route, instead of taking the obvious and easy route by Mandalay?

It was now clear to the travellers that serious mistakes had been made in several directions; it had been a mistake to undertake the journey at all without permission from the Burmese government: it had been a mistake to bring letters addressed to chiefs who, as it turned out, had no real power, instead of letters to the Burmese officials: and it had been also a serious error to have travelled for part of their way with Mr O'Reilly, for they were in consequence of this regarded as being the advance guard of an army, sent on to find out the sentiments of the Shans towards their overlords, while O'Reilly and his men were preparing an invasion behind them. And it must be admitted that the circumstances gave the Burmese officials very good ground for their suspicions; what, after all, would have been the attitude of any officers in British Burma who had found a part of Burmese officials entering their district under similar conditions?

When later these events were reported to the Government of India, the Viceroy, like the Burmese Government, took the view that though it was true that the Treaty of 1862 admitted the right of British subjects to travel freely in Burmese territory, it was nevertheless one thing for traders and private persons to travel, and quite another for public officials to enter the country for purposes of exploration; and that the Chief Commissioner should have given formal notice of the proposed expedition to the King of Burma, and, having obtained his sanction, arranged for a Burmese official to accompany the party. The course pursued by the Commissioner, in fact, met with as much disapproval from the Government of India as it did from the Burmese Government.

The travellers spent eleven days at Pekon, it was not until the 27th that they were allowed to go on to Inle, and very thankful they were to be able to move. Their stay at Pekon, however, had shown them the difficulties they were likely to encounter, and had also made it clear to them that Burmese control over at least this area of the Shan States was decidedly effective. The power of the Sawbwa had been eliminated, and the Sawbwa himself was even contemplating a flight into British territory. They noted, too, that the Burmese

guards were in the habit of taking the contents of the bazaar traders' baskets without payment, on the plea that the owners were only Shans.

On their way to Inle they were accompanied by a guard of one officer and five men. They marched along the bank of the river, finding that the road was in good condition, as much as fifty feet broad in some places, and that every stream was bridged with either stone or wood. The country impressed them as being thickly populated, both banks of the stream being lined with Shan villages. The valley was covered with cultivation, and they met large numbers of people going to the bazaars, which they found at intervals of every five miles or so. They noted that the bazaars were held every five days. On the 29th they reached Samka, and opposite the town noticed a large group of pagodas, which one of them estimated as numbering about two hundred and the other as about five hundred. They considered them to be built in a much handsomer style than the majority of pagodas in British Burma. One curious thing was that the inner wall of one kyaung was painted with pictures of English men-of-war, with English sailors swimming in the water around the ships. It was at this point that they hired a boat to take their luggage to Inle, as their elephants were exhausted.

On the 31st, they reached Inle. In the papers from which this account is taken, the name of the place is printed as "Tulay", except in one instance where it appears at "Mlay," but this must almost certainly be the printer's misreading of the name "Inlay" in the original manuscript reports. They found Inle to be a large town, but it owed its importance, they thought, mainly to the presence of the Burmese officials and garrison. A few months before the Sawbwa of Yawnghwe had risen in rebellion and routed the small Burmese garrison in this neighbourhood, and as it was feared that there might be risings on the part of the other Chiefs in the district the Bohmu or Governor who had been formerly stationed at Mongnai, had moved to Inle with his forces, so that Inle was now the Burmese headquarters for the Shan States. The travellers found that the town was surrounded by an earthern parapet and a ditch, inside which was a stockade about three hundred yards square and said to contain a garrison of 5,000 troops, though it appeared to them that there were not more than 1,000 men in actual fact. They saw no artillery of any sort. There were three bridges across the river at Inle, all in a dilapidated condition.

At one point near the bridges the river was black with fish, these fish being sacred, and fed by the hpoongyis night and morning, and also by nearly everyone who crossed the bridges. To kill any of these fish was a capital offence, and shortly before their arrival a Shan who was caught fishing there was taken away and killed at

onee, without even any reference to the Burmese Governor. The town had a large five-day bazaar, visited by as many as 5,000 people, they reckoned; most of these people came to the bazaar in boats, and they note that the boats, owing to the shortage of timber in the Shan States, were made of teak imported from Karen; these boats were coated with thitse and sand to preserve them from worms. The principal articles for sale in the bazaar were rice, ground-nuts, vegetables, tobacco, cotton, fruit, earthen cooking-pots, and ponies and bullocks. The people who came to the bazaar regarded the Englishmen as very curious creatures, most of them never having seen one before.

The travellers found on their arrival that a good bamboo house had been set aside for their use, so that they could now live in privacy—a pleasant change after having been subjected to the curious gaze of the villagers at all their recent camping grounds. The Sitke came to see them, and, according to Seonee, behaved very civilly, though Watson described his manner as "imperious". He would give them no definite information whether they would be allowed to continue their journey, and, like every other official they met, obviously declined to believe them when they assured him that the object of their journey was merely to explore the possibilities of new trade-routes.

They were requested by him to go to see the Bohmu,—or Wundauk as he is indifferently called—but he also said that they would have to take off their shoes when they interviewed him; and the usual controversy on this vexed topic followed, the Englishmen offering to pay the Governor the same marks of respect that they would to their own Commissioner, but nothing more. The result was that they did not see the Governor at all, but carried on their communications through the medium of his officers. Like everyone else, the Bohmu viewed them with the utmost suspicion, wanting to know why they had no permit from the King, and why they had entered the Shan States by so unusual a route.

The fact that they had letters for some of the Chiefs and none for him did not help to pacify him, although they offered to deliver to him their letters to the Laihka Sawbwa who was then resident in the Stoekade. Finally the Governor directed that they must stay at Inle for seventeen days, by the end of which period he would have received instructions from Mandalay—this being before the construction of the telegraph line from Mandalay to the Shan States; and in the meantime they were kept under strict supervision, guards being posted over them, nominally to protect them from thieves, but really to see that they did not go out at night.

To add to their annoyance the Wundauk sent them orders after they had been there six days prohibiting them from shooting any birds in the neighbourhood of the town; they had been informed on their first arrival that they must respect the religious scruples of the Burmese in this matter, and they had been careful to do so, but some of the Burmese soldiers had taken advantage of their presence to shoot at the numerous pigeons near their quarters, and had reported that it was the Englishmen who were doing it. Also the Burmese officers would give them no assistance in obtaining food, and the people in the Bazaar seemed afraid to sell them anything, especially poultry which they feared the Englishmen might kill within the limits of the town. There were, however, a few men living in the place who had formerly served in the police in British Burma, and they secretly procured a few fowls for them. They had to depend mainly on their guns for supplies, nevertheless, and because of this and because they wished to see something of the country, they asked for a boat to take them to the other side of the plain, but this was refused them. However, they were able to walk as far as Nampan, where the Balu Chaung leaves the Inle Lake. They found that the whole country was intersected with streams and canals, and that extensive use was made of irrigation; every acre of ground as far as they could see was cultivated with paddy, sugar-cane, tobacco, cotton, ground-nuts, and many kinds of vegetables. They noticed also that there were innumerable pagodas in the neighbourhood, many of them very handsome.

On February the 20th it was the new moon, and also bazaar day. This brought a large number of people into the town, all very gaily dressed; they were intensely interested in the strangers, and the crowds that poured into their house to look at them were so vast that the floor gave way; this did not stop them, for they kept pouring in all day long, inspecting the property of the travellers, and frequently asking for medicine. The complaint for which they mostly wanted medicine was sore eyes, which, with small-pox, appeared to be the chief disease in the Shan States. At night there were illuminations on the river, and the road from the stockade to the principal pagoda was lined with small lamps stuck on bamboos; so numerous were these lamps that they appeared like long lines of fire.

While they were waiting at Inle they had frequent visits from Burmese officials, who were still convinced that they were spies who were exploring the country in preparation for an invasion, but at last, when they announced their determination to wait no longer, they were given a hesitating permission to go on their way to Mongnai. So on the morning of February the 22nd they prepared to set off, only to be stopped at the last moment by further orders from the Governor. They found later that letters had now arrived from

Mandalay, and they themselves received one from the Agent to the Chief Commissioner there, to the effect that he had heard of their being detained, that this was due to the rebellions then going on in the Shan States, and that the Burmese Government had sent orders to the Bohmu that they must either return by the way they had come or else proceed to Mandalay.

They were not, however, prepared to adopt either of the courses which he mentioned, for it seemed to them that the stories of rebellions in the Shan States were a myth. So the next morning, the 23rd, they actually set out, and had got as far as Nampan, and were getting their luggage across the river there when the Nekan with a hundred armed men arrived and seized the boats in which they were crossing. Armed men were also posted along the banks to prevent the people from giving any assistance. So there they stayed all the morning, with Sconce on one bank and Watson on the other, unable to communicate with one another. In the afternoon Watson managed to get a boat and crossed the stream to consult with Sconce. He told Sconce what the Nekan had said—that the troops were there for their protection, and not in any way to intimidate them; that the Burmese wished them to go back the way they had come or else to proceed to Mandalay; that if, however, they chose to continue their journey to Mongnai no opposition would be offered to them; but on the other hand strict orders had been issued to the effect that no one was to assist them in any way, whether with guides, transport, or provisions.

It was obviously impossible to proceed under these conditions. Even if they should manage to get all their luggage over the river, and that was doubtful, they would be unable to go any farther, for they were short of food, and they knew that they would have to cross several rivers which would be impassable without assistance. To turn back or to go to Mandalay would mean the end of their expedition, so they decided that Watson should go Mandalay, to negotiate with the Government there, while Sconce stayed at Nampan. This proposal was sent to the Bohmu, who in reply stated that if Watson went to Mandalay, Sconce must return to Inle and stay there. Finally, they realised that it was hopeless to imagine that they could continue their journey. The Bohmu had orders, they knew, to use every possible means to prevent them, and even if Watson went to Mandalay there would be no possibility of obtaining permission to proceed in time to enable them to finish their journey before the beginning of the rains. Therefore there was no alternative but to abandon their project. Also, they did not feel inclined to face the long and painful journey back through Karen, especially as their return would be rightly construed by the Karen as a confession of failure. Finally, on the 26th, they communicated to the Nekan their decision to go to Mandalay.

While these negotiations were proceeding they were still encamped on two sides of the river, having difficulty in communicating with one another, and not allowed to buy provisions or even to speak to the people of the place. Watson had no proper sleeping accommodation on his side, and was not allowed to make use of a *zayat* but had to sleep in the open air. When, however, their decision to abandon their journey was made known, the tenseness of the atmosphere was at once relieved. They were now given a couple of boats and allowed to go out shooting wild fowl, so they took advantage of this to go to the Inle Lake which they had not previously visited.

On the 27th they returned to Inle and from there, leaving the lake on their right, climbed the hills on the western side to the plateau above, reaching Pangmi on the 28th. They had some trouble here as the Sawbwa at first refused to give them any guides, and it took some time to persuade him to do so. Also it had been raining, so their journey was not a very comfortable one. They went on their way across the downs of the Myelat, which reminded them of Karen, and so through Hsamongkham until, on the 1st of March, they reached Kyon, where they were well received by the Shan headman. They describe the Myelat as "a beautiful undulating country, all the fields in the highest state of cultivation, many of them separated from each other by nicely kept hedges or stone walls; every here and there were pretty topes of banyan trees or clumps of bamboos where these villages are generally found." They note, too, that the roads in some places were in good condition, with strong wooden bridges.

On the 4th they reached Yengan, where they found that the people were Danus, not Shans. The people in these parts complained to them of the misrule of the Burmese officials, saying that there was no proper system of taxation, and that if the Governor wanted money from a certain village, he would send a body of troops to bring so much silver from the headman, and if it was not forthcoming at once, the village would be plundered and burnt. Money might be demanded in this way at any time, often more than once a year, so that they were all in constant fear and had no inducement to acquire money, for if a man was known to have much money he would at once be required to pay a large contribution. Many of them were anxious to escape into British territory, but dared not do so, for if they got away their families would be tortured until they returned.

Leaving Yengan they went down the Nateik pass, and so through Kyaukse to Mandalay, where they arrived on March 12th. This concluded their abortive journey of exploration. Though their journey

INTO THE SHAN STATES IN 1863-64.

had little practical importance, it is interesting in that it sheds some light on the condition of the Shan States at this period. It is clear that the Burmese Government had a very real control over at least the western side of the Shan States, and that the power of the chiefs was only nominal.

On the whole the picture the two travellers give of the condition of the Shan States is rather a depressing one. At the same time their opinion must be accepted with a certain degree of caution. From the moment they entered the Shan States they found their way beset with difficulties, until finally they had to abandon their enterprise entirely. It is only natural that under such circumstances they should view the Shan States and everything connected with them with a jaundiced eye; and therefore their views can be accepted only with some reservation.

B. R. PEARN.

SOME SONGS AND A RIDDLE.

Chin Love-songs.

Sim lam heu ai dam ti hal, tsia bang in rai na ngai ing.
Zo lei tsawi ai lawng mai sung, tsia bang in kung na sung ing.

Klang zaa tam ai hai mawn, kai ei kung sun siah in.
Mual zaa tam ai tsawn rang, kai ai rai ngaih siah in.

Zawng tuh lai e ti in, pui bang na um bang de ing.
Sawm tuh lai e ti in, lam bang na an bang de ing.

Kut ruk ni ti i tu lai, kut ah na ru sawn ngang.
Hong awrh tsim khi i tu lei, hong ah na awr sawn ngang.

Ngaih dun lam in teh ngaa sing, su lam kin sau sawn ngai maw.
Sun dun khap in teh ngaa sing, su khap kin sau sawn ngai maw.

Sun dun khap ai teh in khai, kei mah khap sau sawn ngai.
Ngaih dun lam ai teh in khai, kai mah lam sau sawn ngai.

Var puak sek bang ran tian in, na ngai ta viang vo ngang.
Hau he sur bang tsim tian in, na sung ta viang vo ngang.

Ni nu tu khat lawn si ai, zau hmun tu kin khat thil lo.
Zan thin tu khat lawn si ai, zial hmun tu kin khat thil lo.

Far aw i ral den tsawi tu, hual ri na seh te ngaang.
Nem aw i kuam thul heu tu, kuam thing na dawn sawn ngaang.

Dawn tu law na ti ngang khaw, dawn zuam na peu si maw.
Seh tu law na ti ngang khaw, seh zuam na peu si maw.

(Recorded in Lomban, Chin Hills.)

Translation.

- A. As in the corn-fields I thirst for water, just so I desire you.
As in the high hill clearings I crave for fire, just so I crave for you.
- B. The man who lives where are the hundred mountains, the beautiful man I must love.
The man who dwells where are the hundred hills, the handsome man I must like.
- A. That I shall sometime be with you, as the fields long for rain I long.
That I shall sometime win you, as a man longs for the end of the road, I long.

SOME SONGS AND RIDDLE.

B. Ring, bangle, if it might be, on the hand I would wear you.
 Necklace hung from the neck, if it might be, round my neck
 I would hang you.

A. Let us measure our longing by fathoms, whose fathom will be
 longer.
 Let us measure our love by spans, whose span will be longer.

B. Love by spans if we measure, my span will be longer.
 Longing by fathoms if we measure, my fathom will be longer.

A. Till your hair be white like the sweet-lime fruit, I will love
 you always.
 Though I live as long as a fig-tree, I will cherish you always

B. Though the sun sets for both, the place where we sleep is not
 the same.
 Though the darkness falls on both, the place where we lie is
 not the same.

A. Sister, make your cultivation opposite : I will throw you a rope.
 Sister, work on the opposite hill : I will make you a bridge.

B. I will tell you to make a bridge. Will you endeavour to make it ?
 I will tell you to throw a rope. Will you endeavour to throw ?

2. A Mon Riddle.

Klom son patom nguh
 Khamsoi tsut tom
 Kaw ran sot poi
 Tsoing ba tsoh kweh
 Cheh dake ao
 Gleao mua mua meh
 Son klom le kaw ot
 Sot poi le kaw poing klom
 Nai ran tsom nyi.

(Taken down from the dictation of U Athawba
 of Ye and afterwards checked and corrected
 by Mg. San Win of the Archaeological
 Department.)

Translation.

One hundred silver rupees put as principal
 The father-in-law handed over
 And directed the purchase of three kinds of animals.

Elephants at twenty rupces each,
 Horses at one rupee, sir.
 Each cow at four annas.
 Use the whole of the hundred rupees,
 Of the three kinds of animals let there be a full hundred.
 Master, try to buy.

3. Gya E, the endless song.

၌၁၈ သုအမေရှိကို၌
 မှောင်မိုက်မှာ၌။
 ကိုလူပျော်ပေါက်က
 ခြေထောက်ကိုခွဲ။
 တွဲလွှဲ။
 တွဲလွှဲ။နေပါ၍။
 မိသုံးတောင်ကမြန်း။
 မှန့်လုံး။
 မှန့်လုံးစတ္တုက်လို
 ကြာကလပ်မှာဆွမ်းတော်တရ်။
 ပလျှင်ပေါ်ကမျောက်ကလေး
 ဆင်းတဲ့ယွဲပြေး။
 ၌၁၈။

Translation.

Gya E, because her mother beat her,
 Was crying in the darkness.
 Mister Bachelor from a hole in the wall,
 Pulled her leg,
 Hanging down.
 Hanging down. Wait a bit.
 It thundered in the south.
 A bun
 A bun with paper sticking to it
 Was put on the lily salver as an offering;
 From above the shrine the little monkey
 Came running down,
 Gya E.

BURMA MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Add. 4850A.—Pārājika and other pieces from the Pāli Pātimokha with Burmese explanations on Kammavaca leaves in dark colour, 7 lines of big characters, 11 leaves. Presented by Mrs. Mead, 12th July 1771.

Add. 5889.—On Buddhist worship. နောက်ရာရွေးခွဲး: Palm leaf manuscript ၁၁။ 5 lines to a leaf. Pāli with Burmese interpretations.

Add. 6777.—On the inside of the cover is this note : “*For the British Museum, London.* From Admiral Page, of Ipswick, Suffolk :—This writing of the Burmese language, found in one of their Temples near Prome; was obtained by Mr. Wm. Drake, Secretary to Commodore Grant (who commanded the British Navy there, and lost his valuable life by fatigue). The Admiral gives this present of his friend to Henry Ellis, Esqre. to present as above. May 1826.”

Palm-leaf ၁၁။ 9 lines to a leaf of Mātikā akauk or Exposition of Mātikā, a book of Buddhist Abhidhamma.

Add. 6778.—Black *parabaik* of accounts. “Burmese writing taken in one of the stockades by the British Forces 1825 and sent to Admiral Page by Mr. Wm. Drake of His Majesty Liffey Commodorement.”

Add. 6781A.—Presented by Col. Francklin 14th July 1827. Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines to a leaf ၁၁။ Burmese exposition of the Yamaka.

B.—Presented by Col. Francklin 14th July 1827. Palm-leaf manuscript, 7 lines to a leaf ၁၁။ Pali Abhidhamma Saṅgha 5th part, nissaya by Aggadhammālaṅkāra.

Add. 9068.—Presented by C. P. Cooper, Esq., 12th January 1833. Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines to a leaf. Mahāvagga, Pāli with Mon nissaya ၁၁။ Right hand side partially destroyed.

Add. 9361.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines to a leaf ၁၁။ Siṅgīvatthu, copied 1159 B.E. Monday 5th Waxing of Waso. Presented by C. J. Stewart, 14th December 1833.

Add. 9362—Black *parabaik* of a Pāli Jātaka extract about Yasodharā being endowed with virtue and doing honour to monks = Singi Vatthu.

Add. 9953.—Presented by C. P. Cooper, Esq., 21st November 1835. Suttasangaha nissaya. Pāli-Burmese palm-leaf manuscript 8 lines to a leaf ၁၈၁၅။ Incomplete.

Add. 10,548.—Yamaka nissaya, Pāli-Burmese palm-leaf manuscript, 10 lines to a leaf, by Aggadhammālankāra, ၁၁၄၃ B.E. (၁၁၄၃ missing) Copied 1153, Thadingyut 5th day after the full moon.

Add. 10,549.—Girimānanda Sutta. Pāli and Pāli-Burmese nissaya palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines to a leaf ၁၁၅၁။ with ၁၁၅၂ as an extra leaf.

Add. 10,550.—Pāli Parivāra (Vinaya); palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines to a leaf ၁၁၅၃။

Add. 10,551.—ရွှေခြေ့သွေးတန်ခိုင်း: Palm-leaf manuscript, 10 lines to a leaf, 24 leaves with charms.

Add. 10,552.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines to a leaf ၁၁၅၄။ Pāti-mokkha in Pāli-Burmese.

Add. 10,553.—Pāli Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha, palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines to a leaf ၁၁၅၅။ Copied 1143 B.E. ရကာလာ၁၁၄၃ ပြီသည့်

Add. 10,554.—Pāli Saṅghādisesa, Parivāra (Vinaya) palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines to a leaf ၁၁၅၆။

Add. 10,555.—Palm leaf manuscript, 8 lines to a leaf ၁၁၅၇။ Burmese account of astrology and origin of the world.

Add 10,556.—Abhidhammattha Saṅgaha nissaya 2nd part, Pāli-Burmese by Aggadhammālankāra, palm-leaf manuscript 8 lines to a leaf ၁၁၅၈။

Add. 10,557.—Abhidhammatthasāṅgaha nissaya 8th part, Pāli-Burmese, palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines to a leaf ၁၁၅၉။

Add. 10,558.—Six bits of palm-leaf with Subhasutta in Burmese and magical charms.

Add. 10,559.—လောက်သရဏာဂုံ၏ လောက်ဖွေရသရဏာဂုံ၏ အဆုံးအဖြတ်။ palm-leaf manuscript, 9 lines to a leaf ၁၁၆၀။

Add. 12,260C.—**ବ୍ୟାଙ୍ଗ ର ପୁରୁଣ୍ଡି**. Calendar, 13 half-length palm leaves.
Rodd 8th January 1842.

Add. 12,400A.—White *parabaik* of some medical recipes and village-headman's entries. Purchased J. Crawfurd Esq., February 1842

Add. 12,400B.—Black *parabaik* of early Mon history, chronology of later Kings of Pagan. On 12,400A is the following note: "Chronological sketch of Burmese History beginning B.C. 691. This is the manuscript of which a translation has been made by Mr. Judson, and which is referred to by the late Mr. Prinsep, as one of the most authentic statements respecting Indian History:

Manuscript note of J. Crawford from whom the manuscript was purchased in February 1842".

Add. 15,261.—Suttasangaha Nissaya made in 1122 and copied in 1168 B.E., palm-leaf manuscript, 9 lines. ගැන ගැනීයි: තුළ පිළෙනු ලබනවයි।

Add. 15,263.—Palm-leaf manuscript 8 lines ፩-፪ Pārijakan
Atthakathā nissaya 1140 B.E. Duke of Sussex's
sale 31st July 1844.

Add. 17,328A.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines. Pali Pātimokkha
— ම— Presented by Mr. Alex. Kirkaldy, 9th
March 1848.

Add. 17,328B.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines ମହାସାମ୍ୟାସୁତ୍ତା.

Add. 17,554.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines ມ-ອີ ມັງກາລສຸຕ
ຕົກ ພາລີ. ໂອ-ລະ: is collection of vatthus from
Jataka and Suttas in Pali.

Add. 17,555.—Continuation of same $\omega\omega$ Maṅgalatthadīpani.

Add. 17,699.—Palm-leaf manuscript of artistic drawings of ॐ and क्षमा (heavenly mansions and hells) with descriptions, only on one side of the leaves $\text{ॐ}-\text{क्षमा}$. There are 15 leaves of other drawings of fabulous designs.

Add. 17,700.—Three palm-leaves  of Burmese Buddhist writing, unconnected with each other.

Add. 17,944.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 9 lines ၁၁၆၁ B. E. copy of သိဒ္ဓဝါဒကာ

Add. 17,945.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 9 lines ၁၁၄၂ B. E. copy of နှုတ် ကိန္ဒာန

Add 18,069.—Black folding *parabaik* of the pagodas and environs of Pagan in Burmese and illustrated by Burmans.

Add 18,753.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines ၁၁၃၂ B. E. copy. ကုသည်တကာပေါင်ကွဲကောင်းမှု

Add 18,754.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 9 lines ၁၁၃၃ B. E. Mukhamattadipani on Kaccayana in Burmese, copied 1133 B. E.

Add. 18,755A.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines ၁၁၃၂ သုသိတော်ပြီတော် ကုသည်တကာပေါင်ကွဲကောင်းမှု နိသယ်ဆရာတာ copy 1132.

Add. 18,755B —17 Palm-leaves of 7 lines each of popular etymology of Buddhist terms.

Add 19,351.—Fabulous drawings on white *parabaik* of nagas, animals etc. There are also curious characters in red.

Add. 19,630A.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၃၁ Pali grammar 1204 copy.

Add. 19,630B.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၃၁ Porānakathā. One stray leaf contains legendary Jātaka introduction.

Add. 19,957.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript :—

- (1) ၁၁၃၁ = Bhikkhuni Pātimokkha in Pali.
- (2) ၁၁၃၁ = Sekhiyā dhammā in Pali.
- (3) ၁၁၃၁ = Pātimokkha nissaya.
- (4) ၁၁၃၁ = သိဒ္ဓဝါဒ according to ဗားကရာဇာရေး 1170 copy. composed by his pupil ပညာသူ
- (5) ၁၁၃၁ = သိဒ္ဓဝါဒကာ ပွဲတိန္ဒာ

Add. 19,978.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၃၁ ဓရတ်ကတ္တနသိသုတေသန 1170 copy. Dhātukathā Nissaya.

Add. 20,781.—9-line palm-ealf manuscript ၁၁၃၁ Yamaka Pali presented by the Lords of the Admiralty 5th June 1855. Found in the Great Dagon Pagoda, Rangoon 12th April 1852, R.J.C. Scott, Surgeon, H.M.S. "Hastings."

Add. 21,578.—10-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၃၁ သုတေသနပိုစိန္တတေသန ၁၁၃၁ ပိုစိန္တတေသန with nissaya in Burmese. 1170 copy.

Add. 21,612.—Silver leaf of 12 lines of Pāli Paticcasamuppada and other things.

Add. 23,236.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript. ၁၃၃၃ Vessantara Jātaka nissaya, ၁၁၄၈ copy.

Add. 24,128.—Kammavāca in Pāli and Mon.

Add. 26,660.—10-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၃၄၃ Tikāgyaw nissaya ၁၃၄၃ ၁၁၄၂ B. E. copy.

Add. 26,661.—Black *parabaik* of trivial accounts.

Add. 27,289.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript (1) ၁၃၅၃ = ပေါ်ပြောပါတီ on Kaccayana, called ပြာသာကော် on right sides of leaves. ၁၁၆၈ copy.
(2) ၁၃၅၃ Pāli Abhidhānappadipikā.

Add. 27,458.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၃၆၃ ၁၈၆၆-၈၆၇ ရက်နာရာ ပြာသာကျိုး presented by Capt. Alex. G. Duff, 14th August 1866.

Add. 27,492.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၃၆၃ Kathāvatthu in Pāli.

Add. 27,545—10-line palm-leaf manuscript (1) ၁၃၈၃ = Subodhālāñkāra by Saṅgharakkhita mahāsāmi (အာဓာသပါတီ on right sides of leaves.)
(2) ၁၃၈၃ = Nissaya on same by Munindasāra, pupil of Dhammābhinanda, after whose teachings the nissaya is written.
(3) ၁၃၈၃ = Kavisāra in Pāli.

Additional 6,779A.—9 leaves of Kammavāca, square characters.

Additional 8,903.—14 leaves " "

Additional 11,640.—11 " "

Additional 12,087.—1 leaf " "

in one 12,491C.—1 palm-leaf of Sinhalese characters.

book 15,240.—1 leaf of Kammavāca, square characters.

18,756A & B, each 1 leaf of Kammavāca, square characters.

Additional 15,289.—18 leaves of Kammavāca, square characters.

Additional 15,290.—5 leaves of Burmese Kammavāca.

Additional 15,291.—14 leaves of Kammavāca, square characters.

Additional 17,490.—12 " " "

Additional 22,841.—12 " " "

Additional 23,939.—2 leaves of Kammavācā, square characters
[inlaid ivory letters on black boards].

Additional 27,279.—10 leaves of Kammavācā, square characters.

Additional 27,287.—8 leaves of Kammavācā, square characters.

Additional 27.288.—12 leaves of Kammavācā. square characters.

Egerton 735.—6 leaves of Kammavācā, square characters.

Egerton 852A.—Palm-leaf booklet (of last leaves strung together) of verses on horoscope in Burmese မြှေး (each leaf about 6 inches long). Purchased of Rudd 11th August 1840 (Olim. Bibl. Halliwell 310).

Egerton 852B.—A wooden piece shaped like a dagger, possibly one end of a manuscript board.

Egerton 852C.—Myat Tha Aung's horoscope, born 1143. Thadingyut 5th waxing, Friday.

Egerton 1,114—7 leaves of Kammavācā Pali (dark colour).

(2) ඩි-සේර් පැසිට්ටි (8 missing) ප්‍රෙශ්‍රීලංකා ප්‍රියින්ගේ ග්‍රැන්ඩ් තිබුණු ප්‍රෙශ්‍රීලංකා ප්‍රියින්ගේ

(3) ~~cc~~-^g Bhikkhuni Vibhaṅga (8 missing).

Egerton 1,116.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript m-ò Suttasaṅgaha Pali with Burmese nissaya by Nandamālā who wrote the nissaya in 1128 B.E.

Grenville LX.—Pārājikan in Pali and Mon in 12 parts, 7-line palm-leaf manuscript.

Or. 458.—9.line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ Milinda nissaya by
Guṇālaṅkāra of Tadaingthit Nyo kyaung at
Thasomali village, 1198 date.

Or. 478.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript (1) *m-ec* Moggalāna Pāli
grammar, 1146-1150 copy.
(2) *m-q* Nissaya on same.

Or. 2,178.—(a) 7-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ Pali Grammar, text and nissaya.
 (b) 4 stray leaves of Pali.

Or. 2,193.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ mukkhapakkha jātaka nissaya.

Or. 2,247.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ Abhidhammattha-sangaha in Pali.

Or. 2,256.—10-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ Pali grammar Saddanīti, 1158 copy.

Or. 2,257.—Minayeff's Pātimokkha rendered intelligible, 69 folios in small handwriting of text, notes and translation.

Or. 2,446.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ ပရာဇာန် Pārajikan nissaya, 1135 copy ကျော်းတကားမာရိုက်းကောင်းမှု။

Or. 2,603.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ Mahāniddesa Pali 1144 copy.

Or. 2,604; 2,605—14 and 12 lines of square characters of kammavācā.

Or. 2,664.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ ကျော်းပရာဇာန်။

Or. 2,670.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ Sammohavinodani.

Or. 2,731.—Paper book: Mahosodha in plain Burmese.

Or. 2,742.—White *parabaik* of Shan paper: Abhidhamma written in Burmese verse.

Or. 2,768.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ Vinaya.

Or. 2,770.—Palm-leaf drawings with descriptions of Buddhist mansions and hells (similar to Add. 17,699).

Or. 2,783.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ Atthasālini.

Or. 2,789.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ Law in Burmese verse.

Or. 2,861.—10-line palm-leaf manuscript (1) ၁၁၁ Nāmarūpa Pali.
 (2) ၁၁၁ Nāmarūpa pariccheda nissaya.

Or. 3,001.—11-line palm-leaf manuscript (1) ၁၁၁ Abhidhammā vatāra tīkā.
 (2) ၁၁၁ Saccasankhepa tīkā.

Or. 3,232.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ Parivāra.

Or. 3,258.—10-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁-ခုတ်ပါဇော်သာယ by ရန်ငွေ့သက္က 1168 copy.

Or. 3,259.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ Kankhāvitaranī atthakathā nissaya.

Or. 3,369.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript (1) ၁၁၁၁ Khuddhaka sikkhā Pali.
 (2) ၁၁၁၁ nissaya on same.
 (3) ၁၁၁၁-ခေါ် Niddesa in Pali-Burmese.

Or. 3,373.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ Abhidhāna nissaya 1108 date, copied in 1129.

Or 3,403; 3,404—10-line palm-leaf manuscript; Maungkala Maha yazawingyi.

Or. 3,405.—10-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ ရာဇ်မာတ်သက် Chronology of Burmese kings after the Mahayazawingyi.

Or. 3,406.—Chronology of Burmese kings in verse : 7 leaves of half-length palm.

Or. 3,407.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ အနိယ မြို့စာရီပြေတော်မူသာ ဝါးငွေ့ ပင်းရာဇ် တဲးဟောင်းပုံပြီး သတ္တရန်ကို တဆောက် တရာဂိုးသယ်ငါး တပေါင်းလမြို့ညျှော် ၁၄ ရက် သောကြာဇ် ၄၁ ၂ ချက်တီးကျော်အခိုင်းတွင်ရေး ကျော်ပြီးလည့်သည်။

It begins with an historical summary of the three Shan brothers after the fall of Pagan and contains anecdotes interwoven with historical events.

Or 3,408.—5 leaves of 12-line palm-leaf manuscript; list of kings ရာဇ်မာတ်ကြေး

Or 3,409.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ (not complete). Ava history containing boundaries of many places and towns. There are also many *Sādan* and *Sittan* of about 1000B.E. towards the end.

Or. 3,410.—Similar to the preceding but not in the same order in some places : Zambudipa Ossaung, 1st Part, 1198 copy. Interesting *Sittan* and *Sādan* with the opening Shan history of the Shwe Nan Shin living 150 years. 8-line palm-leaf ၁၁၁၁

Or, 3,411.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ Rakhaing Yazawin in verse, more poetry than history, 1214 copy.

Or. 3,412.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၃-၈။ History of Rakhaing country, Mrauk-u myo. The last leaf has ၁၁၅၅
ရန်ကျော်စံအောင်ကျောင်အတိုင်း

Or. 3,413.—6 leaves of palm about a short survey of Sasanavamsa in Burmese.

Or. 3,414.—7-line palm-leaf manuscript ၃-၇။ ၈၄၅၃:၁၁။ History of the Talaings.

Or. 3,415.—7-line palm-leaf manuscript ၃-၇။, Buddhavamsa, Part II. 1194 copy.

Or. 3,417.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၃-၉။ Shwebon Nidan. The first and last leaves have ၁၂၇၃:၁၇၆၃နီ၁၇၁၂မှာရွှေ့နောက်၏၈၇၁၂:၁၇၁၂၁၂၁၈။ 1218. copy.

Or. 3,418.—11-line palm-leaf manuscript ၃-၁၁။ Boundaries of towns. Begins with a short historical summary, gives boundaries of towns and places with a rather full account of history from Taungu and ends with a number of *Sititan* mostly ၁၁၁၁ date. The following extract is from leaf ၁၁၁၁:

Or. 3,419 — 9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၃၈ Shwe Dagon
Thamaing.

Or. 3,421.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ Shwe Sandaw Thamaing. 1218 copy.

Or. 3,422.—10-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ Kammavāca in Pali with Burmese nissaya ၁၁၁၁ Ordinary size palm leaves. 1203 copy.

Or. 3,423.—7-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ ရှိခိုင်းနှစ်နာရီတော်။ extracts from Vinaya.

Or. 3,424.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ ရှိခိုင်းအောင်နယ်သိမ်းပိုင်းနှစ်ကျိုး Pali-Burmese ရဟန်းသိက္ခာဝာ။

Or. 3,425.—7-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ (incomplete)ရဟန်းကျင့်ဝင်။

Or. 3,426.—7-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ Satipatthāna. Sutta and nissaya. 1192 copy.

Or. 3,427.—10-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ Satipatthāna Sutta Pali and nissaya.

Or. 3,428.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ ပေးပိုင်းအနက်finished 1129.

Or. 3,429.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ သိမ်းနှစ်ကျိုးနှင့် ၁၁၁၁ copy ဝါယဉ်းကျင့်ပြု။ လောင်ရှင်ပြု။

Or. 3,430.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ အကာဝရတာ Sutta Pali and Burmese nissaya အပိုဒိဇ္ဇား and ဝါရာသိ with nissaya, Suttas as interpreting dreams ? Title on the first leaf being အိမ်မြော်။

Or. 3,431.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ နာမကာရာရာရာ ၅၆၆။ Pali-Burmese. Leaves decaying.

Or. 3,432.—7-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ အကာဝရတာ being Arakanese history ending as does Or. 3412 with accounts of town-building.

Or. 3,433—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ သတ်ဆုံး in verse with examples from the poets. 1134 copy.

Or. 3,434—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ Inscriptions mostly of Pagan.

Or. 3,435—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ Later and longer Inscriptions. သတ်ဆုံးရွှေပေါက်များ၊ သတ်ဆုံးရွှေတောင် ဧရာဝတီများ။

Or. 3,436—7-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ ရှုံးတော်အွေး။ Pali and Burmese.

Or. 3,437—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ନୀତି ଉଚ୍ଚାରଣେ ବ୍ୟାଖ୍ୟାନ ଦ୍ୱାରା ଉପରେ ଲାଖାର ଉଚ୍ଚାରଣ କରିଛି। Selections and expositions on points for ministers culled from the Scriptures, niti, etc., date 1191. Composed by order of ଅର୍ଜୁନାନନ୍ଦା ଦ୍ୱାରା।

Or. 3,439.—10-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁ (incomplete) ၃၈၅၂
၈၃၁ about astrology.

Or. 3,440.—7-line palm-leaf manuscript ଟ-ଟି । ପ୍ରଦ୍ୟମନିବିହିତଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀ । ପାତ୍ର-ଦ
ତନ୍ତ୍ରହେତୁଭ୍ୟାଃପଦକ୍ଷିଣଃ ୨-କର୍ତ୍ତରେତୁଭ୍ୟାଃପଦକ୍ଷିଣଃ ପ୍ରଦ୍ୟମନିବିହିତଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀଃପଦାନ୍ତର
ପାଦାନ୍ତରଭ୍ୟାଃପଦକ୍ଷିଣଃ ୧୧୯୬ copy by ପାତ୍ରମ୍ଭାବାଙ୍କିନ୍ ପ୍ରଦ୍ୟମନିବିହିତଃ
ଲକ୍ଷ୍ମୀ ॥

Or. 3,411.—7-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁။ (incomplete and decaying) ပါရီ။ ပြု။ on slips of paper, contains introductory remarks on ပါရီ &c.

Or. 3,444.—5 leaves of palm ending in ପିଲି ବନ୍ଦାତେର୍ବନ୍ଦାଶାଖିଲିଖିତ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରଗାନ୍ଧିନ୍ଦା
ପତିକିଙ୍କ ପିଲିକିଙ୍କାରିଲିଖିତ ରାଷ୍ଟ୍ରଗାନ୍ଧିନ୍ଦା

Or. 3,445A.—Metal plate in the shape of a palm-leaf with 11 lines of Pali quotations.

“ B.—Metal plate in the shape of a small palm-leaf with 7 lines of Pali quotations.

“ C.—Metal plate in the shape of a small palm-leaf with 11 lines of Pali quotations.

“ D.—Metal plate in the shape of a small palm-leaf with 14 lines with Burmese Buddhist writings from Jatakas.

“ E.—Metal plate in the shape of a small palm-leaf with 14 lines with Pali-Burmese Scriptural writings.

“ F.—Metal plate in the shape of a small palm-leaf with 13 lines with Pali-Burmese Scriptural writings.

Or. 3,447A,B.—Manu Mano Dhamma Vilasa Shwe Myin Dhamma-
that. Manu Akyè 1st and 2nd parts in two black
parabaiks, covers gilt with elaborate gold flower
designs, (silver on the second part). Cock and lions
being embossed on 1st cover. Four birds, probably
cranes, are embossed in silver on the 2nd cover.
Four figures on the back of the 2nd cover are very
life-like with a graceful and natural pose.

Or. 3,449.—2 black *parabaiks* with accounts and a list of guns in 1190.

Or. 3,450.—8 black *parabaiks*, the 1st contains list of Pagan Kings with their works of merit, Nanda thamaing extract. The 2nd contains an account of Burmese ambassadors to Bengal and their diary 1216 (1854 A.D.) The 3rd is *Sittan* of Prome.

The 6th is Pagan Dhamayan inscription.

The 7th is about 6 monks to be invited from Ceylon. The 8th is a petition of a monk to the Deputy Commissioner for exemption from tax-duties on the perquisites of a cremation of a monk.

Or. 3,526.—Square characters of Kammavācā in 16 leaves.

Or. 3,532.—11-line palm-leaf manuscript m-² (some leaves missing). Vinaya sampinda (Digest of Vinaya rules) 1246 copy, Sadisārattha Jālinī nissaya 1170 date, Kaccāyanasāra nissaya 1246 copy; gandhabharana nissaya by Ariyāvamsa 1246 copy; Sadatthabhedā cintā nissaya 1246 copy; Ekakkharakosa nissaya; 88^வக்கு^{க்கு} 1246 copy; Vibhātyattha nissaya; Vaccavācaka nissaya.

Or. 3,533.—Vinaya Saṅgraha Pali, 11-line palm-leaf manuscript ම-යි

Or. 3,554.—Kāmmavācā in square characters in 21 leaves.

Or 3,555.—Kammavācā in square characters in 98 leaves.

Or. 4,602.—10-line palm-leaf manuscript ω - $\omega\omega\omega$ Vol. II of the preceding (8th chapter up to Paññābhumi) composed in 1137.

Or. 4.603.— (ဝေတော်ပောင်လွှားပောင်နဲ့ကောင် မူနိုဘုန်လက်ဆောင်) 10-line palm-leaf manuscript (1) ၁၁၁၁ Dhammasiri's Khuddasikkhā Pali 1218 copy (2) ၁၁၁၁ nissaya on same by စောဒုသရိသိဒ္ဓရွား မဟာရာဇာဒရာရဗုဒ္ဓ in 1200 resident at ဟာရောဇာနှင့်မြို့သုတေသန အုပ်စုရန် တော်လွှား (3) ၁၁၁၈-၈၁ Tikā thit Pali = Sumanāgala pasādani by Saṅgharakhita, author of Subodhālaṅkāra and Vuttodaya and pupil of Medhankara (4) ၁၁၁၈-၈၁ nissaya on same. 2324 era of religion by Kalyāṇasāra.

(B). Same continued ၃-၁၁၁

Or. 4,605.—Same description as the preceding. Pariwā Palidaw
ପାରିବା ପାଲିଦା

Or. 4,606.—16 leaves of Kammavācā in square characters.

Or. 4,613.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ~~in~~ Pārājikan Atthakatha Pali.

Or. 4,614(A).—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁၁၁၁ Khuddasikkhā
Tikā.

(B)—၁၃။ Khuddasikkhā Letthan Atthakathā nissaya.

Or. 4,703.—10-line palm-leaf manuscript $\text{m}-\text{g}.$ Vinaya Sangaha Pali.

Or. 4,707.—15 lines of Pali passages on metal plate.

Or. 4,762.—*Parabaik* of coloured drawings of the Great Renunciation and ordination and relevant incidents in the Buddha's life. ၁၁၃၁၁၁

Or. 4,764.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript of 338 folios; Pali grammar in Pali-Burmese.

Or. 4,767.—Black *parabaik* of magic charms and figures in pencil.

Or. 4,771.—11-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁။ Tikapāṭṭhāna.

Or. 4,784.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၂-၁၁၁၄ 1144 copy.

Or. 4,788.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၂-၁၁၁၄ Dhammamālā, Pali-Burmese 1222 copy.

Or. 4,789.—Horoscope of Ma Thaing 1204.

Or. 4,790.—Horoscope of Shin Hkaing 1214.

Or. 4,791.—Half-size palm-leaves. ၂-၁၁၁၄ Verses on divination, Pali-Burmese.

Or. 4,794.—10-line palm-leaf manuscript ၂-၁၁၁၄ ၁၁၁၄:၁၁၁၄ Some verses on the general account of Buddhism copied. ၁၂၁၁၄ ၁၁၁၄ ၁၁၁၄

Or. 4,795.—7-line palm-leaf manuscript ၂-၁၁၁၄ (worn-out and incomplete). Burmese history of the Shan period.

Or. 4,796.—English translation on paper of Shinbin Kugyi Thamaing presented by Major Temple 5th July 1894 and translated by Maung Sein, bailiff 6th October 1893.

Or. 4,802.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁-၁၁၁၄ Pali grammar and nissaya.

Or. 4,803.—8-line palm-leaf manuscript ၁-၁၁၁၄ (incomplete): Vinaya saṅgaha, Pali-Burmese.

Or. 4,804a.—9-line palm-leaf manuscript ၂-၁၁၁၄ Vidhurajātaka in Burmese.

Or. 4,805.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 9 lines ၁-၁၁၁၄ ၁၁၁၄ ၁၁၁၄ 1127 copy, Pali-Burmese ၁၁၁၄ ၁၁၁၄

Or. 4,806.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 10 lines ၁-၁၁၁၄ (incomplete). Therā atthakāthā Pali.

Or. 4,807.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 7 lines ၁-၁၁၁၄ ၁၁၁၄ ၁၁၁၄ Pali-Burmese.

Or. 4,808.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines ၁-၁၁၁၄ ၁၁၁၄ ၁၁၁၄ in Burmese, some leaves missing.

Or. 5,050.—Black *parabaik* of catalogue books belonging to Nyaung Yan Princ esent by James A. Colbeck. A good selection of Burmese religious books.

Or. 5,051.—White *parabaik* in black ink writing, 46 folios on each side, writing goes on to 86 folios. ဝရမဏ္ဍပန္တာရဏ္ဍနာ ၈၆ ကောသိနှင့်ပို့ မန္တယရေးရည်ခံလေးဖူရရှိ၏

Or. 5,054—Palm-leaf manuscript, 5 lines ကော်-၅။ Suttam kammavā. Colophon has Suddhanta Kammavācā.

Or. 5,339—Palm-leaf manuscript, 10 lines ၁၁-၁၀။ Kāñkhā gāndi Pali-Burmese 1193 copy.

Or. 5,340 A, B—Maunggan gold Plates (original) with papers on them and U Tun Nyein's translation (Epigraphia Indica V)

Or. 5,436—Palm-leaf manuscript, 10 lines ၁၁-၁၀။ Pali athakathā on Pācīt, Mahāwā, Culawā, Pariwā, Bhikkhuni Pācīt.

Or. 5,510—Palm-leaf manuscript in square Pali-Burmese characters, 7 lines ၁၁-၁၀။ (some leaves missing) mixed and incomplete : Manoratha pūrani, Vinaya Mahāvagga Athakathā.

Or. 5,516—Nissaya on Kaccayana, palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines ၁၁-၁၀။

Or. 5,606—Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines ၁၁-၁၀။ ၁၁၈၀ copy.

Or. 5,678—Palm-leaf manuscript, 10 lines (1) ၁၁-၁၀။ Bhikkhuni Patimokha Pali (2) ၁၁-၁၀။ Khuddasikkhā Pali, Mūlasikkhā Pali (3) ၁၁-၁၀။ Abhidhāna Pali (4) ၁၁-၁၀။ Tikagyaw Pali (5) ၁၁-၁၀။ Pārami dīpani.

Or. 5,680—Palm-leaf manuscript, 9 lines ၁၁-၁၀။ Pakinnaka Pucchā.

Or. 5,681—Palm-leaf manuscript, 10 lines ၁၁-၁၀။ Nissaya on Pali grammar.

Or. 5,682—Palm-leaf manuscript, 10 lines. (1) ၁၁-၁၀။ Culawā Athakathā nissaya (2) ၁၁-၁၀။ Galon pyan nissaya on grammar.

Or. 5,699—Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines ၁၁-၁၀။ Patthāna nissaya and Pali.

Or. 5,754—Palm-leaf manuscript, 8 lines ၁၁-၁၀။ (two leaves missing). Koganpyo, 1196 copy (worn out) ၁၁၁၁-၁၀။ ကော်မူးရေးရှိ၏ ၁၁၁၁

Or. 6,779.—Coloured *parabaik* of scenes of Court life, such as a durbar, boat race etc.

Or. 6,819.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 9 lines ၁၈။ Kankhāvitarani Ganthi 1169 copy. Pali-Burmese ပန္ဒာတိကာမ အရှင် ဘရာဝာ။ ပုဂ္ဂိုလာ၏ ဒိသည်နေးမောင်နှင့်ကောင်းမှု။

Or. 8,203—Small Shan *parabaik* of divination and magic.

Or. 8,204.—Palm-leaf manuscript, 9 lines ၁၉။ Pācītyādi Pali.

Or. 8,684.—8 leaves of palm-leaf containing a fragment of history.

Sloane 4,097.—A single palm-leaf roll of Tamil.

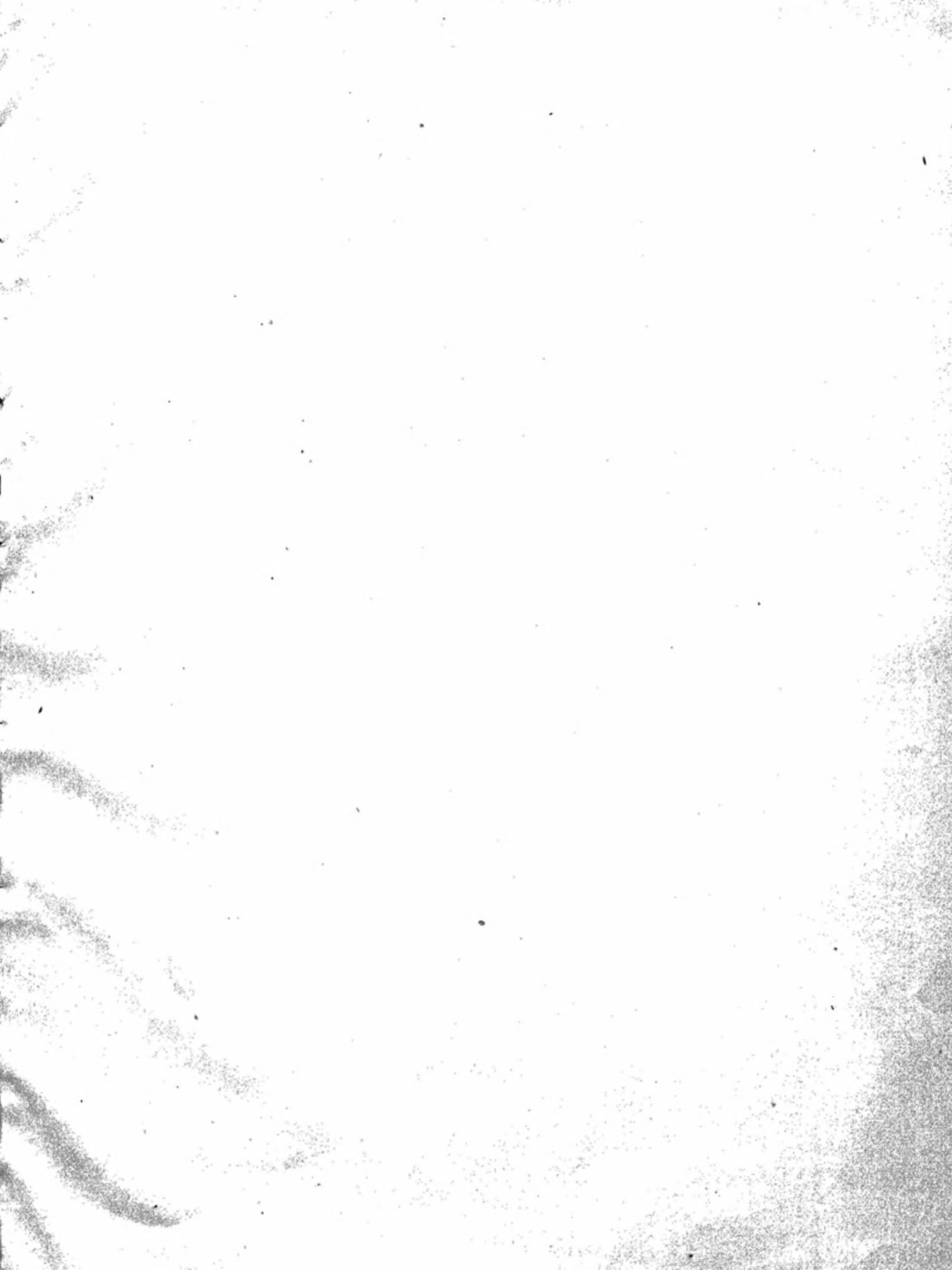
„ 4,098.—A single palm-leaf of Burmese, brittle and difficult to handle.

„ 4,099 CXIIA.—4 single palm-leaf rolls of Siamese ?

		Leaves.
Sloane or Additional 4,849.—	Kammavaca in square characters	16
Sloane Or. 25	„ „	15
„ 26a	„ „	12
„ 26b	„ „	"
„ 27	„ „	15

PE MAUNG TIN





6
11/11

"A book that is shut is but a block"

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